# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-88-081* *27 April 1988*

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**Karpov Views Arms Treaty, European Cooperation**
*LD271617 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Lisbon April 27 TASS—Chief of the Directorate on Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament of the USSR Foreign Ministry Viktor Karpov, speaking at a press conference here today, said that the Soviet Union would not think it a tragedy if the Soviet-American treaty on a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms were not signed during the coming meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. We view this meeting as a stage in the development of bilateral relations, Viktor Karpov said. It is necessary to register mutual understanding which will be achieved during the summit talks and then to strive for the advance, the Soviet spokesman said. Viktor Karpov expressed satisfaction over the objective tendencies manifested in Soviet-American relations regardless of what party, the Republican or the Democratic, will be in office in the USA.

Answering the question about possible consequences of the present reanimation of the Western European union and the coming entry of Portugal and Spain into that military group, V. Karpov said that in the Soviet Union's opinion it is time to abandon the policy of blocs in favour of a policy having a different basis—common European cooperation. The Helsinki process is the trend to follow. It is necessary jointly with all Europeans, as well as the United States and Canada, to be building the common European home, he said. In this context he emphasized the importance of the Vienna meeting for the solution of the tasks of the armed forces and armaments reduction. V. Karpov expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to remove any disbalance in the armaments of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. The USSR proposed to the USA exchanging the data on armaments, but U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz rejected this initiative apparently for the reason that the actual correlation of these forces cannot provide NATO an effective position as regards propaganda.

V. Karpov said that the working out of the Vienna mandate is now artificially dragged out by the West under the pretext of humanitarian matters. We are prepared to reach agreement on these problems too, and now, as a result of perestroyka, these talks are of mutual importance.

The Soviet spokesman emphasized the need to reduce chemical weapons and the Soviet Union's readiness to issue a joint declaration with the USA on refraining from supplying such weapons to other countries.

Touching upon the U.S. "Star Wars" programme, V. Karpov said that the main problem is the observance of the ABM Treaty. If the treaty's observance is ensured, strategic stability will be preserved.

Asked about the importance of a peace settlement regarding Afghanistan, V. Karpov said that something from the experience of reaching these accords can be used to overcome complex situations in other areas.

**Nazarkin Denies Chemical Weapons Charges**
*LD261250 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Geneva, 26 Apr (TASS)—Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation, addressed the Geneva Disarmament Conference today. He noted that during the meeting, which took place in Moscow on 21-22 April between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign Minister, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, the ministers expressed concern at the growing problem of the proliferation and use of chemical weapons and instructed the delegations to do further constructive work to promote the formulation of a multilateral convention banning chemical weapons. The Soviet representative dwelled on questions of building trust and openness in this area.

He recalled that on 18 February this year, the USSR presented a memorandum for the conference to examine on multilateral exchange of data in connection with elaborating a convention on completely and universally banning and destroying chemical weapons, and that on 15 March the Soviet delegation had offered certain additional explanations regarding this memorandum and had provided information as proposed for the first stage of the exchange of data. The Soviet representative noted with satisfaction that these proposals have given rise to definite interest, and that of late, important steps have been made toward greater openness in the area of chemical weapons: Over 20 states have declared that they do not possess such weapons, and several countries have provided data on their production of chemicals that fall under the convention.

At the same time, said the speaker, the U.S. delegation, while declining to publish data on the total size of U.S. reserves of chemical weapons, casts doubts on the information communicated by the Soviet delegation, and without foundation reproaches the USSR with wanting to "find out almost everything" about U.S. chemical weapons. The Soviet representative criticizes such a "logic of distrust," which guides several other Western delegations too. The monstrously inflated estimations of the sizes of our reserves of chemical weapons that are published in the West can only sit on the consciences of their authors, he said. And why must the Soviet Union prove the genuineness of the figures it has announced only on the grounds that some people in the West have a wild imagination? All the poison substances and standard [tipovoy] munitions that the Soviet Union has in its weaponry were shown at Shikhany, the head of the Soviet delegation stressed.

The Soviet delegation put forward a number of supplementary clarifications to the proposal of 18 February on carrying out an experiment on testing the procedures for the systematic international monitoring [kontrol] of the nonproduction of chemical weapons in commercial industry. In conclusion, the Soviet representative expressed the hope that the coming summer break in the work of the conference would be used by all the delegations in order to think over the possibilities of further progress in working out a draft convention.

**Senate Report on NATO 'Weak Spots' Condemned**
*PM261457 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by Colonel V. Nazarenko and Colonel I. Vladimirov: "Adherents of the Old Course. NATO's 'Arms Upgrading' Plans Impede Constructive East-West Dialogue"]

[Text] Not a day goes by without the Western Joe Public being bombarded with another batch of fabrications about the "Soviet military threat." And the clearer the outlines become of the terms of reference for talks on cutting armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals—terms now being discussed at consultations by 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact states within the framework of the Vienna meeting—the more varied the disinformation appearing in the Western press, "reinforced" by fabricated figures about "Soviet superiority."

In these descriptions the NATO alliance is depicted as a kind of defenseless Red Riding Hood. Thus, the latest Senate Armed Services Committee report on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles again paints a dramatic picture of the so-called "weak spots" in the NATO war machine. It covers a lack of sophistication in the deployment of NATO armed forces, their inability to conduct combat operations for a very sustained period, a shortage of supplies, the existence of a conventional arms imbalance, and an alleged Soviet superiority in chemical weapons. In short, in the event of a "surprise attack," the authoritative committee concludes, the bloc's joint armed forces could be rapidly overrun. It is claimed that NATO could not stand up to the Warsaw Pact because the military doctrine and deployment of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces are clearly geared to offensive operations.

Consequently, the report writers conclude, the elimination of "critical weaknesses" in conventional forces and the more vigorous fulfillment of the "balanced technological initiative" program envisaging joint U.S. and NATO allied development of advanced technology for the creation of arms systems must become priorities for the alliance. We note that it is planned to allocate $1.5 billion over a 5-year period to fulfill this program. Furthermore, the report notes, for the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles to be "useful" for the bloc's long-term security, it is necessary to reaffirm commitments regarding the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, since NATO's security will for the foreseeable future continue to be based on modern nuclear weapons. In short, arms upgrading, arms upgrading, and more arms upgrading. That is what is on the NATO strategists' minds.

The NATO leadership is already implementing or planning large-scale programs for qualitatively improving or fundamentally modernizing virtually all categories of arms, or for creating new armed warfare systems. Those who love to complain about conventional arms "imbalances" for some reason forget that since 1978, NATO has been operating a long-term military program geared to the mid-nineties, under which the bloc countries' armed forces will annually receive a considerable number of tanks, aircraft, artillery pieces, and other types of military equipment. In 1988 alone, West European NATO troops will receive 250 tanks, over 1,000 other armored vehicles, 400 artillery pieces, 400 antitank guided missile launchers, 75 helicopters, and 200 Tornado and F-16 aircraft.

As a result of the fulfillment of the long-term military program, as a special British university study entitled "Is There a Tank Gap?" points out, in the period 1981-1985 the number of tanks in NATO armed forces increased by 20 percent. However, this by no means prevents the bloc leaders from demanding "asymmetrical reductions on the part of the East." A recent report to Congress by the U.S. defense secretary bluntly states that "the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles reinforces the principle of asymmetrical reductions for the achievement of equal U.S. and Soviet levels, which has become an important precedent for future talks both in the sphere of strategic nuclear forces and in the sphere of general-purpose forces." The implementation of this policy, the Pentagon believes, will make it possible to retain the U.S. system of "dual-purpose" weapons and the most important types of conventional arms. Clearly, double-entry bookkeeping has taken firm root in the practice of the NATO disinformers.

It is still a long time until the final conclusion of the NATO long-term military program; however, additional ground forces formations are already being created, the fleet of medium tanks is being modernized, antitank defense forces and weapons are being qualitatively improved, new systems intended to combat enemy follow-on forces are being introduced, and NATO's air-defense systems are being updated. In other words, the long-term course of further building up military might, which the NATO bloc intends to pursue in the 21st century too, is being firmly followed.

Nor is the bloc leadership abandoning its chemical and nuclear weapons buildup. As is well known, a decision has already been taken to start production of binary chemical weapons. The Pentagon plans to acquire 30,000 tons of binary components and stockpile them in

Europe. And this despite the colossal arsenals of chemical weapons amassed in the United States, running to more than 55,000 tons of various toxins. It is because of the U.S. binary program that the talks on banning and eliminating chemical weapons have come to a grinding halt.

As for nuclear arms, as NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has stated, the "euphoria over the treaty on intermediate-range missiles should not push us into some kind of mythical non-nuclear nirvana." Even according to NATO figures, the bloc currently has 4,600 nuclear munitions. Such stockpiles can hardly be considered a "weak spot," yet nonetheless various plans are afoot to "compensate" for the forthcoming destruction of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. In all, as a study by the Anglo-American Information Council notes, an extra 2,300 modern nuclear munitions will have been brought into Europe by the mid-nineties.

And still, the authors of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee report have managed to find NATO's "Achilles heel." It is the bloc's lack of "bold ideas" in the sphere of conventional arms control. Well, one really cannot fail to agree with that conclusion. However, unlike the specific proposals to eliminate fabricated "weak spots," things have not gone beyond general appeals for innovative approaches in the disarmament sphere. Clearly, the NATO countries are still not ready for serious discussion of the questions of reducing military confrontation. Otherwise it is hard to explain why the many initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states have gone unanswered.

Instead of moving to meet us halfway, the U.S. and NATO leaders are proposing to "turn off the slippery slope" leading to the denuclearization of Europe, intimidating people with the prospect of a U.S. "decoupling" from the security of the West European allies, and calling for an extensive campaign to be launched with the participation of bloc politicians with a view to securing public support in the Western countries for the course of improving conventional and tactical nuclear forces. Only in this way, they believe, can the "appeal" which NATO is encountering as a result of the implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles be answered.

All this is only likely to complicate the quest for ways of improving the situation in Europe and destroying the shoots of trust which are just starting to push through the frozen soil of chronic suspicion. It is high time to move away from double-entry bookkeeping to constructive dialogue.

## OTA Report Cited on Unfeasibility of SDI

*LD241436 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 24 Apr 88*

[Text] Washington April 24 TASS—The realization of Reagan's "Star Wars" programme, which aims at creating an "impermeable shield", is totally unfeasible. Even the accumulated vast scientific data and technological expertise are not enough to put into practice the "Strategic Defense Initiative". This conclusion is made in a special report prepared by the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) of the U.S. Congress.

An unclassified summary chapter of the report fell into possession of the newspaper WASHINGTON POST. The 900-page document was prepared following an in-depth study by OTA's staff of the data collected by the Strategic Defence Initiative Organisation, who also drew advice from an expert panel containing SDI supporters and opponents.

The document, which states that five years of scientific research and over 12 billion dollars were spent on this programme, confirms the reports by the U.S. press that the administration had to revise and curtail the SDI programme in view of its obvious unfeasibility in the form in which it was initially planned. The newspaper reports that public release of an unclassified version of the report has been withheld for seven months by Pentagon officials.

The authors of the document write, in part, that the detailed computer instructions needed to destroy thousands of warheads probably cannot be produced "in the foreseeable future". The first phase missile defense deployment planned by the Pentagon for mid 90s at the cost of 150 billion dollars looks as a phantom goal.

More, SDI managers had not adequately studied potential Soviet measures to counter a ballistic missile "defense". The report says that "potential Soviet countermeasures to a U.S. space-based missile defense could be less challenging and less costly to develop than the exotic space-based weaponry".

It appears to OTA that there is a significant probability that the the missile defense system would "suffer a catastrophic failure" the first—and therefore only—time it was used in real battle, the document says.

## Foreign Ministry's Perfilyev Holds Briefing

### 'Rapprochement' With FRG Noted

*LD261419 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—A personal message of the West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and conveyed by the West German Ambassador to the Soviet Union Andreas Meyer-Landrut provides evidence that along with active Soviet-American talks, a political dialogue is going on at the highest level between the Soviet Union and its major partner, West Germany, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

The very fact that Kohl's address to Gorbachev was made on the eve of the Soviet-American summit, Perfilyev went on to say, can be regarded as West Germany's striving to join in the efforts exerted by the Soviet Union and the United States to settle urgent international problems by political means.

"We are noting with satisfaction," Perfilyev said, "a certain rapprochement of views in fundamental matters of strengthening peace, European and international security. Today, lasting peace can be established only through political means and joint effort. Not so long ago such point of view would have aroused scepticism in the West, now new thinking is paving its way and is making itself felt in specific undertakings."

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and West Germany was accompanied by the strengthening of the material basis of their relations.

For example, he said that Soviet organisations and West German firms were engaged in 20 cooperation projects and that several joint production ventures had already been established.

### Geneva Afghan Accords Hailed

*LD261454 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The Afghan people have gone through difficult years, the years of struggle and an arduous search for ways to develop their state, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said at a briefing here today as he commented on the 10th anniversary of the triumphant national democratic revolution in Afghanistan tomorrow.

"Being aware of mistakes and miscalculations made in the post-revolutionary period and openly admitting them, the Afghan leadership has firmly embarked on a national reconciliation policy.

"This policy has assimilated the main principles corresponding to the customs and traditions of the Afghan people, on the basis of which the regional conflict can be settled humanely and fairly," Perfilyev said.

The Geneva accords on Afghanistan, he continued, marked the advent of a new and crucial phase in the life of the Afghan people.

Those agreements, he said, had been hailed practically throughout the world not only as a highly important step to a settlement relating to Afghanistan, but also as a model to follow in resolving other regional conflicts.

"But for the resolution of the Afghanistan problem really to become a worthy example, all the countries which have signed the Geneva agreements must abide by them unswervingly," the spokesman emphasized.

He said a tripartite Soviet-Afghan-U.S. meeting had been held in Kabul on April 18 through 22 to discuss prospects for the national reconciliation and the role the Soviet Union and the United States could play in stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan.

A trip to an Afghan province, a visit to a Soviet military unit and a meeting with the Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan had been arranged for the American delegation, Perfilyev added.

"The (tripartite) meeting passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere and made it possible to map out possible ways to rehabilitate the Afghan economy, develop the social sphere and solve the refugee problem as soon as possible," he said.

## Human Rights Commission Holds News Conference

*LD261843 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Representatives of the Soviet Public Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights gave a press conference at the United Nations Vienna office today.

The Commission's chairman Fyodor Burlatskiy noted that the Soviet delegation had arrived in Austria to contribute to the work of the Vienna meeting of represenatives of the participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Soviet representatives had meetings and conversations with leaders of some delegations to the Vienna meeting, specifically with the head of the U.S. delegation Warren Zimmermann. Meetings with heads of the delegations of Great Britain, Austria and other countries are scheduled. During the conversations, members of the Soviet Public Commission noted that there exist now good opportunities for the advance toward the solution of problems of arms limitation, human rights and humanitarian cooperation. But to achieve this the sides should have mutual understanding and be prepared for a compromise.

Perestroyka in the USSR gave an impetus to the development of the processes of democratisation and exercise of human rights, Burlatskiy noted. Soviet people are interested in cooperation with representatives of progressive Western organizations who work in this direction. The time has come when a transition can be made from a period of recriminations in human rights to comparative analysis, reasonable criticism and cooperation. Early this year the Soviet Public Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights held in the Netherlands a meeting with representatives of many European countries, the United States and Canada. We have adopted a joint statement setting out our interest in cooperation, the chairman of the Soviet commission said.

### Honecker Cited on Security, GDR Development

*PM261501 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "E. Honecker Interview"

[Text] Berlin, 21 Apr—A departure from the policy of deterrence using both nuclear and conventional types of arms is the only sensible path for responsible politicians to take, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, declared in an interview in the Danish newspaper JYLLANDS-POSTEN.

Neither the Warsaw Pact nor NATO, the GDR leader continued, has superiority in the conventional arms sphere. Approximate, relatively stable parity persists between them, which fact is recognized in all unbiased research, including that done by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, which is close to NATO. I consider that a serious and realistic assessment.

Proceeding from all this, our readiness to move from one "zero" option to another extends to all types of weapons.

Responding to a question about the development of relations among socialist countries, E. Honecker pointed out that all fraternal states seek to make still more efficient use of Marxism-Leninism as the basis of actions in accordance with national conditions for the further building of socialism. This plays a positive role in the cause of each socialist country's economic, social, and cultural development. In this it is important to learn from each other, not copy each other. All socialist countries have become wiser on this question. We should not seek a model, and no one can give a prescription suitable for all. Not that one exists. An exchange of opinions, cooperation, and mutual solidarity are important.

An exchange of experience among the socialist countries, E. Honecker went on to point out, has already played a great role in the GDR's successful development. We have implemented broad restructuring, carried out reforms, and, at the same time, derived much from our friends' experience. It is a decisive factor here that each country should, in accordance with national and international conditions, react in a timely and flexible manner to the questions posed by life. According to the 11th SED Congress decisions, we are further building a developed socialist society. This is a process of profound political, economic, and social transformations. We must over and over again find answers to questions that arise. An exchange of experience with the socialist countries is a big help here, E. Honecker emphasized.

### 'International Review' on Shultz, Afghan Accords

*PM261601 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 First Edition p 5*

[Oleg Skalkin "International Review": "The World This Week"

[Text] The political calendar of the past week has been full of events reflecting many characteristic features of the time. A policy imbued with ideas based on new thinking made a confident, active showing in some of these events. But quite a lot also happened to show that means and methods that have long outlived their day are still fairly widespread in international affairs.

Once again people's attention was drawn to Soviet-American relations. To be more specific, this is connected with the latest visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. M.S. Gorbachev received him in the Kremlin last Friday. The main subject of the conversation was the forthcoming summit meeting—the fourth to date. They discussed the content of the meeting and talked about the kind of atmosphere that would be conducive to success. The American guest was frankly told that creation of such an atmosphere is not being helped by the anti-Soviet rhetoric on which Washington has subsisted lately or by distortion of the real reasons for progress in Soviet-American relations.

G. Shultz had talks with E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister. They discussed a broad range of subjects, including collaboration on humanitarian issues and human rights, the problems of banning nuclear tests and chemical weapons, and other urgent international issues such as the main aspects of the Near East conflict and the possibility of reaching a settlement through collective effort. A particularly important subject was the situation on limiting and reducing strategic weapons.

At the Fourth Stage [subhead]

Let us recall that the first three stages in summit level contacts—Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington—led to a definite move in Soviet-American relations away from confrontation and the senseless nuclear arms race and toward normalization and the first joint steps on the path of nuclear disarmament. As a result of this success, it has become possible to tackle one of today's crucial nuclear disarmament issues—a 50-percent reduction in

strategic missiles. The parameters of the new treaty have been agreed upon accordingly. President Reagan, remember, once said that the conclusion of this treaty is "only a stone's throw away." The established time to do this is now drawing near.

But the closer the date of the U.S. President's arrival becomes, observers say, the less certain it is that the draft treaty on strategic offensive weapons will be on the negotiating table on time. A series of important provisions in the treaty still have to be agreed upon. In this connection, the two foreign ministers expressed their mutual desire to further intensify their joint efforts. This is good, of course. It must be owned, however, that the result could be different if the U.S. representatives in Geneva showed a little more of the single-mindedness characteristic of Americans when striving to reach a goal in their approach to the problem of reducing strategic offensive weapons. But at present we have been unable to either unravel or cut through the main knots in the way of reducing strategic offensive weapons.

As reported at the briefing recently held in the U.S. State Department, there are still some 1,200 brackets in the drafts of the four documents relating to the treaty on strategic offensive weapons. Each bracket indicates a lack of consensus on the formulation and details of the accords. There does not appear to be any draft at all on a vital section of the treaty—on observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. One would have thought that after the talks in Moscow, there would have been fewer of these "brackets" and other moot issues. But, as we can see, the matter still rests on Washington's stubborn wish to keep space open for SDI and also its reluctance to impose restrictions on air-launched and particularly sea-launched cruise missiles—the "latest fashion" in missile weaponry. It is becoming clear that the Pentagon has thrown in its lot with these fashionable innovations. Military department strategists are preparing to use the potential of these new weapons as a loophole for getting around restrictions connected with the future treaty on strategic offensive weapons. It is understandable that the American press does not write so openly about all the obstacles slowing down the mechanism of the Geneva talks.

Positive factors are also at work. The procedure for ratifying the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has just recently reached the final stage in both Moscow and Washington. In view of the special importance of the issue, legislators in both countries have given the provisions of the treaty particularly careful scrutiny. After considering every aspect and closely studying the Soviet people's reaction to the treaty, the working organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' foreign affairs commissions recommended the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The day before, the U.S. Congress House of Representatives had spoken in support of the treaty. And how! A total of 393 Congressmen voted in favor, and only 7 voted against. And in the Senate, the 3 months of debate on the treaty are drawing to a close. Almost nine-tenths of the members of the upper house of U.S. Congress have declared themselves in favor of the treaty. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has underlined the need for the U.S. Administration to strictly abide by the interpretation of the treaty in the form in which it is approved by Senate, which is an indirect but quite clear criticism of the administration for taking liberties with the ABM Treaty in the interests of Reagan's pet project, the SDI program. In this case, Congress is reflecting popular feeling in the country.

The main condition that will give a candidate the greatest chance of being elected U.S. president, according to the results of one of the latest public opinion polls conducted by the Yankelovich Institute, is to have as part of his platform a specific program that aims to curb the arms race. The second most important issues are the economic and social problems facing the country. A total of 79 percent of the electorate believes that expenditure on the arms race is preventing the solution of domestic problems; 71 percent feel that the arms race is costing the country too much money; and 62 percent are convinced that military expenditure is damaging the U.S. economy.

If only these impressive percentages determined American foreign policy priorities....

The harmony between the aims of restructuring economic and social life in the Soviet Union and the processes of reform and renewal in other socialist countries opens up prospects and possibilities for further fruitful development of multifaceted cooperation in the interests of their peoples. This conclusion has been drawn from the results of the official friendly visit by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Hungary, where he went at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

The opinions exchanged in Budapest with the Hungarian leaders reaffirmed the fruitful nature of Soviet-Hungarian ties in the political, economic, and humanitarian spheres and their progressive development. The sides have set the task of raising cooperation between the two countries in the economic and scientific and technical spheres to a qualitatively new level.

The talks once again clearly revealed the socialist states' strong interest in consolidating and developing positive trends in international life so that the world can tear itself free from the vicious circle of confrontation and the arms race as soon as possible.

Afghanistan After Geneva [subhead]

The international community has appraised the agreement on a political settlement of the situation surround

ing Afghanistan on its merits. It has been greeted everywhere as a peace-loving action in the spirit of the time, when efforts must be made to resolve local conflicts peacefully. There are hopes that the settlement of the external aspects of the problem and the accord reached to end outside interference—from which, strictly speaking, the so-called Afghan problem arose—will have a beneficial effect on the achievement of national concord and reconciliation and lead to the normalization of the situation in the country. In any case, the limited Soviet troop contingent is being withdrawn and it is now up to the Afghans themselves.

The agreements reached on Afghanistan could serve as a model for the elimination of regional conflicts. It is important to note that the agreements were reached as a result of collective efforts at the Geneva negotiating table and in the intensive work surrounding it.

Local conflicts have become a real scourge of our age. As a rule, they are fraught with regional and global upheavals. This is surely the conclusion to be drawn, for example, from the recent events in the Persian Gulf, where hostilities have been provoked between Iran and the United States, whose powerful armada is protecting America's "vital interests" thousands of miles from its own shores. The U.S. strong-arm actions have brought to a boiling point the already tense situation in one of the most explosive regions of the world.

According to figures cited by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar at a news conference a couple of days ago, since the end of World War II local conflicts have taken some 17 million human lives. And the number of victims of such conflicts is constantly increasing. How long can this continue? The conclusion reached by the Indian SUNDAY OBSERVER newspaper after analyzing the Afghanistan agreements is quite natural. "Their achievement," it wrote, "gives rise to hope that with UN mediation, other regional conflicts can be settled: the Near East crisis, the Iran-Iraq war, the situation surrounding Cambodia, the situation in Central America, and the situation in southern Africa."

Indeed, why should one not imagine a scenario whereby Iranian and Iraqi representatives are seated in different rooms initially, if the situation cannot be arranged any other way, and through the mediation of a UN secretary general's representative try to find a formula which could end the interminable slaughter, in which the cream of the Iranian and Iraqi people is dying a pointless death?

The Afghan people have earned their chance of a peaceful, calm, human life through suffering. The "Geneva package" begins a new stage in the settlement and provides new opportunities for it. The signing of the agreements has removed the external barriers in the way of establishing peace and security in the land of Afghanistan, President Najibullah has said. Unfortunately, far from all interested parties, so to speak, are of this opinion. The armed opposition groups based in Pakistan reject the peace settlement, national reconciliation, and the dialogue without prior terms on offer to them and are preparing to march on Kabul to the sound of beating drums. What are they hoping for? Their calculations are based on a continuation of the outside aid in the form of arms and equipment which they have been receiving all these years from the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and several other countries.

Those opposed to reconciliation are not troubled, as we can see, by the fact that this kind of interference is not permitted by the agreements on a political settlement. But, unfortunately, Washington's statements on this score support these hopes. In the space of 8 years, the United States has spent more than $2 billion on support for the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. Approximately the same amount of "aid" has been provided by Saudi Arabia, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES. Will this ever end? The status of guarantor of the Geneva agreements which the United States has assumed of its own volition commits it to responsibility. How will it deal with this fragile state? After all, the following view of things is also current in the United States: According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, American officials say that support for the rebels is evidence of President Reagan's successful policy of providing aid for local groups opposed to communist-backed regimes in regional conflicts.

Is this not the crux of the amorphous American position with regard to aid for the Afghan armed opposition? The Communists are to blame for that too....

Base Syndrome [subhead]

American military bases in other countries have been the focus of public feeling more than once in the past week, as they have actually been very often before. In Spain the socialist government is unable to honor its political pledges to its own people because talks on the reduction of the U.S. military presence, which in practice comes down to the evacuation of 72 F-16 fighters from the base at Torrejon, have developed into a prolonged haggling session to which no end is in sight. Greece is into its fifth (?!) round of talks on the future of Pentagon military installations which the United States is unwilling to relinquish. A short while ago a similar explanation of relations took place in the Philippines. Similar not only in terms of the subject of the talks but also with regard to their outcome. In each of the above cases—and in many others—the United States is opposing attempts by the owners of the country concerned to rid themselves of the U.S. military presence.

As Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus wisely remarked recently, new attitudes have taken shape in the world as a result of the Treaty on the Elimination of

Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. There is not only a mood of optimism regarding peace. People are also in a mood to rectify injustice, errors, and shortcomings in international relations.

The United States has almost 1,600 such "errors" to its credit—the number of its military bases and installations abroad. More than 500,000 military servicemen and mountains of arms, including nuclear arms, are stationed at these bases and installations. A sad feature of the bygone age of the "cold war" and of feverish preparation for hot war, these U.S. bases have become an anachronism in the contemporary international landscape. A struggle is being waged from Australia to Panama against the Pentagon's pollution. Wherever governments are prepared to be reconciled to the presence of these bases, the public is acting on behalf of national interests. Millions of people are protesting their disagreement with their country's role as hostage to the U.S. military, which is insulting to their national dignity, and also demonstrating their desire to contribute to the task of improving international relations in a world illumined by the new political thinking which is affirming life on earth.

## United States & Canada

### U.S. Accuses Gorbachev of 'Inflammatory' Remarks

*LD262246 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Igor Pavlov commentary]

[Text] On Monday, the White House accused General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of making needlessly inflammatory comments to Secretary of State Shultz when he was in Moscow last week concerning several recent speeches by the American President. Our observer Igor Pavlov makes the following comment:

In three speeches over the last 2 weeks, the latest one in Springfield, Massachusetts, President Reagan singled out Afghanistan and human rights to lecture Moscow in a traditional sermonizing manner. The President's speeches were taken both here and in the United States as a clear sign that he is having difficulites at home with several key topics on his agenda for the Moscow summit. First of all, the White House is yet to receive the Senate's endorsement of the INF Treaty. Secondly, citing technical problems, the United States has been dragging its feet on a START accord that would cut by half Soviet and American long-range nuclear arms. Thirdly, the American case on human rights is rather shaky. On 4th April it was 20 years since the assassination of Dr Martin Luther King Jr in Memphis, Tennessee. Mr King was shot not because he sought the right to emigrate for black Americans. Nor did he devote his life and struggle for such other values as freedom of speech or of assembly. He had had more than enough of all that. What black Americans did not and still do not have is economic equality with whites. What is still lacking in America is racial harmony, for which Martin Luther King gave his life.

Another big headache for the White House is the Persian Gulf, which has deteriorated into a regional conflict where the United States is getting deeper and deeper involved. There is a quicksand quality to it. There was nothing inflammatory in what the Soviet leader told Secretary Shultz. Suffice it to go through a TASS account of their meeting, and the account was described as accurate by Shultz and his aides. It looks like the White House would like to attribute some of its own difficulties to Moscow, or try to create the impression that the Kremlin is to blame for some of the hurdles standing in the way of this administration before it goes down in history books as the greatest peacemaker. There are obviously more than a couple of miles left for the White House to travel to reach that finishing line. It would be unrealistic to think that while top administration officials keep warming up for the Moscow summit this would pass unnoticed at the other end. This is what General Secretary Gorbachev told Secretary Shultz, adding the following: We have so far been showing restraint, but if we reciprocate, and we can do so over a very wide range of issues, the atmosphere in Soviet-American relations could become such that it will no longer be possible to solve any further issues. Now what is so inflammatory in this piece of advice? After all, it is not a sermon.

### U.S. 'Rendered Support' in Abu Jihad Murder

*LD261429 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Cairo April 26 TASS—Referring to a high-placed representative of the security forces of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Egyptian newspaper AL-SHA'B reports that the United States rendered support and assistance to a group of Israeli commandos who killed Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], deputy commander-in-chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces. That was done both during and after the terroristic action.

The newspaper writes that the action involved the U.S. CIA and ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet stationed in the Mediterranean. The Israelis entered Tunisia with American passports and some of them used diplomatic identification cards of employees of the U.S. Embassy to bring weapons into the country.

In the course of the action against Abu Jihad, an American military helicopter secretly landed on the Tunisian coast. The helicopter took the assassins to a U.S. aircraft carrier which went to one of the military bases in the Mediterranean, AL-SHA'B writes.

### Comment on Death, U.S. UN Vote

*LD261448 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Following 3 days of (?debates), the United Nations Security Council has passed a resolution condemning Israel's aggressive action against Tunisia: the murder by Israeli commandos in that country of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir].

The Israeli guilt in this act of state-sponsored terrorism is so glaring that this time, as our commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes, even the United States' representative in Security Council didn't see fit to oppose the resolution. And, as you know, before the American delegation used the right of veto, repeatedly blocking any Security Council resolution condemning Israel.

Does that mean that Washington has changed its course of supporting actions by Israel? By no means. Though the American delegation didn't risk to vote against the resolution, it abstained from voting. The American representative, Herbert Oakum, explained that attitude by the fact that the resolution didn't mention the Arab aggression against Israel, as if Israel was not the true aggressor occupying Arab territories and drowning in blood the people's uprising there. In other words,

Washington's position remains the same. Israeli authorities evidently understand that. Counting on full support of the United States, they are tightening the repressive measures on the occupied lands.

New reports have been coming in the last few days on casualties among the Arab population, on forcible deportation of ever more Palestinians, and on arrests of traders who refuse to obey the orders from the occupation authorities. All means of repression are used, from military terror to political and economic measures.

But I think, Aleksandr Pogodin adds, that Israel is wrong in counting on the all-powerful American support and feeling absolutely safe of any retribution. Israel will have to reckon with a growing liberation movement in the occupied lands, which is gaining momentum despite the cruel punitive measures. It will have to reckon with a consolidating unity of the Arab countries and peoples. An important step in that direciton is the meeting in Damascus between Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad and the PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat. Arab solidarity may become a factor to determine the course of events in the Middle East.

### Further on UN Vote

*LD261940 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—TASS news analyst Yevgeniy Babenko writes:

The essence of the resolution just adopted by the United Nations Security Council is unambiguous. Full-fledged representatives of the international community at the United Nations Headquarters qualified the murder of prominent Palestinian leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] by Israeli "commandos" in a suburb of the Tunisian capital as a glaring violation of the United Nations Charter and international law, as an act of aggression against Tunisia's sovereignty and territorial integrity also posing a serious threat to peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean.

14 members of the Security Council voted for the resolution, while the United States abstained. It is a good thing that Washington has not vetoed the resolution this time. There have been cases of U.S. vetoes at such votings more than once. Therefore one need not be clairvoyant to suppose that the U.S. representatives in international organizations will be avoiding condemning international political terrorism that suits the United States.

Such regimes as the Israeli or the South African have been using terrorism as an instrument of their foreign policy, and Israel relapsed to terrorism more than once. It was Tel Aviv that occupied and devastated Lebanon during the "Peace for Galilee" operation staged as a retaliation for the attempt on the life of an Israeli ambassador to Great Britain. The murder of Abu Jihad, one of the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was another example of a terroristic action of an international scope.

Bandit actions of Nicaraguan contras terrorising the peaceful population of the revolutionary republic with the use of arms bought on the funds resulting from the Iran-contra affair can also be classed with such terroristic actions.

All these actions suit the neoglobalist course of the current U.S. Administration. And those who brought their concept of international terrorism to the level suiting masterminds of neoglobalism, who made this horrible phenomenon their state policy almost automatically become honorable partners of the USA.

No matter with what high-sounding words this "cooperation" is described, its unsavoury essence remains unchanged. The United States, while noisily condemning such obvious forms of terrorism as hijacking of planes encourages in every way international terroristic actions of the trends suiting it. This means an attempt to replace international law with lynch law in international relations without any consideration for sovereignty of other states or norms of morality.

### U.S. Supports 'Terrorist Actions' in Ethiopia

*LD261741 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik writes:

President Ronald Reagan of the United States, speaking in Springfield recently, unfoundly accused the Ethiopian Government of using starvation and scorched-earth tactics to attain political ends, thereby adding fuel into the flame of the unbriddled anti-Ethiopian campaign which has long been conducted by U.S. propaganda.

The U.S. President spoke of 'political famine', i.e. famine originating owing to political causes. If one disengages oneself from the severest drought which is threatening Ethiopia with a recurrence of the terrible crop failure of 1984, one can really find 'political' causes of the food shortage being experienced by the residents of the Ethiopian north. However, the causes emerged, contrary to assertions from across the ocean, not because of a malicious intention of Addis Ababa but through the fault of the secessionists and those who stand behind them. In Eritrea and Tigre Provinces, they managed to seize a number of populated areas from where they attack motor convoys carrying food intended for the population of drought-stricken areas, and deliver strikes at the centres for the distribution of food among the starving.

Judging by the spirit of the U.S. President's speech in Springfield, those terrorist actions are viewed with understanding and support by the United States.

In order to ensure the safety of the personnel of international organizations, the Ethiopian Government recently decided to begin their evacuation from Eritrea and Tigre. Another reason which prompted the authorities to take the step was that "some organizations and their staff that penetrated the areas ostensibly to ensure famine relief operations," the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry's statement points out, "set up a ramified information network there through which false information on the situation in the drought-stricken areas was circulated around the world. Thereby those organizations played into the hands of foreign circles hostile to Ethiopia. Their current Washington-supported protests against the evacuation are prompted not by concern for drought victims but by a desire to mislead the international public and to conceal their true political aims and their support for the secessionists."

Addis Ababa's decision concerning foreign personnel in the country's north does not mean at all that the Ethiopian Government discontinues relief to the people of Eritrea and Tigre.

Western propagandists' assurances that the authorities ostensibly try to starve the population of those areas in order to do away with secessionists there are a shameless disinformation.

The experience of the past dry years proved that the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia allocates huge funds for food aid, and implements projects to combat drought on a scale unprecedented for Africa. The resettlement campaign being carried out by the authorities has become an effective means to protect the population from the cyclically recurring national calamity. Since 1984 six hundred thousand people who were threatened by death of starvation have been resettled from arid northern provinces to areas favourable for agricultural activities. Since 1986 those resettled have already developed more than 110,000 hectares of fallow lands and provided themselves with food.

"An invaluable assistance in the cause of combating drought," the newspaper YEXAREITU ETHIOPIA pointed out, "is being rendered to the Ethiopian people by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The USSR has sent 300 heavy-duty lorries and about 40 aircraft and helicopters to Ethiopia to carry food to the distress areas and to evacuate drought victims. Besides, the Soviet Government provided the Republic with 250,000 tons of grain, and renders support in the implementation of programs to resettle peasants from arid areas and to set up enlarged villages the purpose of which is to advance the country's agriculture."

## More on Shultz Brussels News Conference

*PM261511 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "G. Shultz News Conference"]

[Text] Brussels, 25 Apr—An extraordinary session of the NATO Council at the foreign minister level was held today at the North Atlantic bloc Headquarters. It was convened to hear U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz' report on the results of his talks in Moscow.

At the end of the session the head of the U.S. foreign policy department held a brief news conference.

The secretary of state noted that a mutual effort was made in Moscow to further talks concerning the reduction of strategic offensive armaments. He said that attention was paid both to the conceptual aspects and to the provisions of the ABM Treaty and also to verification and counting of the various weapons systems of the two sides. "It is very important to reach an agreement on strategic offensive armaments, but it is no less important to make it a good agreement. We are having substantive discussions with the Soviet Union on those types of weapons which form the basis of Soviet and U.S. deterrent forces."

In Shultz' view, "obviously, it will be up to a new U.S. President to carry on the work that has been started in the strategic offensive armaments sphere. But, as far as I know, all the U.S. presidential candidates back the idea of concluding a treaty between the United States and the USSR on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments."

The U.S. secretary of state added that there now "exist splendid prospects for holding talks on conventional armaments. It is all a matter of when to start them." The outcome of the Vienna meeting, Shultz continued, depends on compromises on human rights and arms control issues. This is accepted by the United States and the Soviet Union. In his view, there has been progress at the Vienna conference, but the talks there are making slow progress.

Asked about the prospects for the creation of a climate of detente in relations between the United States and the USSR, Shultz replied that by and large the picture is pretty good in that area. But much remains to be done. The Washington summit laid a good foundation for the fruitful development of Soviet-American relations, the U.S. secretary of state declared.

## Bilateral Protocol on Reactor Safety Signed

*LD270818 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—A memorandum on cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the field of regulating the safety of civilian

nuclear reactors was signed in Washington on Tuesday on the Soviet side by Aleksandr N. Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilisation of Atomic Energy and on the U.S. side by Lando W. Zech Jr., chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

The agreement envisages wide exchanges of information on research, designing, construction, and technologies being used at nuclear power stations, exchanges of experience in operating them and in ensuring a safe functioning of the facilities.

The signing of the memorandum became a concrete realisation of the accords reached during the recent summit meeting in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and of the readiness expressed by them to develop cooperation in the field of the nuclear power industry, including the safety of nuclear reactors and peaceful utilisation of atomic energy.

Mr Zech described the signing of the document as a historic event which is of vital importance to the safety of civilian nuclear facilities and an event which will accord with the interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States.

He pointed out that the United States was looking forward to the start of the cooperation under the agreement and to exchanges of information in the field of maintaining the safety of nuclear facilities.

**Rogachev, Sigur Consultations on Asia, Pacific**
*LD261652 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Paris April 26 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur held a useful and constructive exchange of opinions in Paris on April 25 and 26 on a wide range of issues related to the situation in Asia and the Pacific.

The pre-summit meeting was part of ongoing Soviet-U.S. consultations on regional problems.

The sides discussed the need to lower military tension in Asia and the Pacific. As they examined regional conflicts, both stressed the importance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

The sides also considered possible ways to facilitate the process of a Kampuchea settlement and steps to improve the situation on the Korean peninsula.

**U.S. Air Force Lifts 'Veil' on Stealth Project**
*PM271117 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Why Did They Slightly Lift the Veil?"

[Text] Washington, 25 Apr—The drawing of the latest B-2 strategic bomber released for the press by the U.S. Air Force "includes a false outline and conveys no information about key subassemblies and components of the aircraft, which is being developed in the utmost secrecy," the LOS ANGELES TIMES writes. According to the newspaper, the distortions have been introduced into the drawing deliberately, with the aim of "withholding important information about the ability of the B-2 to escape detection by radar and to make it impossible to establish its real dimensions."

Citing remarks by aircraft design engineers and specialists, the newspaper notes that "the dimensions of the cockpit have clearly been exaggerated, the front wings are improbably flat," and "the extremely pointed nose is ill-suited for the installation of a radar antenna." Furthermore, the drawing does not show the surfaces needed to steer the aircraft such as split flaps, leading-edge flaps, and trailing-edge flaps and movable wing extremities which normally revolve on hinges with clearances, which represent important vulnerable points for radar detection."

Why did the U.S. Air Force decide to slightly lift the veil of secrecy shrouding this top secret development project concerning the "Stealth" bomber and to release a drawing of it, albeit a considerably distorted one? The creation of a fleet of 132 "Stealth" aircraft which are to carry nuclear weapons will cost much more than the $36.6 billion originally budgeted for this purpose. It was in order to extract additional appropriations for this program that the U.S. Air Force last week took the unusual publicity step of releasing a certain amount of information about the B-2. Thus, the LOS ANGELES TIMES notes, the publication of the drawing marks the beginning of a campaign to extract more appropriations for the B-2 bomber development program. Furthermore, according to the newspaper, the utmost secrecy surrounding the development of this aircraft has already evoked criticism from a number of members of the U.S. Congress, which is "bringing increasing pressure to bear on the Pentagon" in order to compel the U.S. Defense Department to provide lawmakers with more information about the "Stealth" program.

**U.S. Navy Launches Two Earth Satellites**
*LD261258 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Washington April 26 TASS—The U.S. Navy launched two artificial earth satellites on Monday. They were put in a polar orbit with the maximum distance

from the surface of the earth of approximately 1,100 kilometres and became part of the navigation transit system used for orientation of submarines.

### Fire Reported Aboard U.S. Submarine

*LD261224 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Washington April 26 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

U.S. Navy ships continue the search for three sailors who are reported missing following a big breakdown on board the U.S. diesel-electric submarine Bonefish on Sunday in an Atlantic Ocean area 160 miles away from Florida shores.

The CBS TV network reported that three sailors were missing after an urgent evacuation of the submarine crew consisting of 92 members.

An official spokesman for the U.S. Atlantic Fleet Headquarters at Norfolk base has said that preliminary indications pointed toward a series of explosions causing a fire on board the Bonefish. Twenty-two crewmen sustained injuries and burns. The fire which broke out in the battery compartment compelled the submarine commander to order an urgent evacuation. Helicopters from two U.S. Navy ships nearby immediately began a rescue operation, removing navymen from the submarine deck belching out black smoke.

The submarine which was heavily damaged as a result of the fire remains afloat but is immobilised.

Official spokesmen for the U.S. Atlantic Fleet Headquarters maintained that there was no apparent danger that the Bonefish, which carries only conventional weapons, would sink.

The Petrol, a rescue vessel of the U.S. Navy, approached the abandoned submarine on Monday but an order to board the Bonefish was postponed for twenty-four hours.

The Pentagon is launching an investigation on the causes of the breakdown.

### U.S. Admiral To Study Moving Ships to Gulf

*LD251829 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 25 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, is urgently to take a flight to the Persian Gulf area.

For what purpose? Maybe his purpose is to make at last, some real step toward easing tension and elimination of the conflict?

Nothing of the kind. As U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci said, William Crowe is to visit the Persian Gulf in order to present medals. Yes, medals, to those American sailors who acted in such an excellent way that their actions will be recorded in the naval manuals. As is known, an "excellent operation" of U.S. naval forces has resulted in the destruction of two Iranian oil platforms on the coastal shelf. The most up-to-date U.S. weapons were used "effectively". Missiles and bombs with laser homing sank and damaged two Iranian frigates and several boats.

Admiral Crowe will hardly limit himself to presenting orders and medals to American sailors. He has also a more serious mission. As he said in an interview to the CBS television network, he is to study the possibility of moving ships of the U.S. Coast Guards into the Persian Gulf area for operations which the U.S. naval force is staging in the Gulf.

Thus, a new build up of the U.S. military might in the Gulf is planned. In addition to 30 naval ships staying in the area 13 ships, including the Forrestall aircraft carrier, sailed out of Jacksonville for the Gulf on Sunday. Now a group of Coast Guards ships is to arrive in the Gulf.

No one has any intention to justify the mining of international waters, the attacks of Iranian boats on tankers of other countries, the firing with naval artillery and missiles at them. These are undoubtedly piratic actions incompatible with standards of international law.

But nothing can justify the piratic action of the U.S. naval force in the Persian Gulf to destroy oil platforms. This was a gross violation of international law, contempt for the international public opinion.

It is not accidental that warnings are made even on the Capitol Hill. Senator Sam Nunn said that the policy should be revised. He said it is necessary to prevent the developments from escalating into a U.S.-Iranian war.

Iran comes out with bellicose statements. Its representatives say they are ready to teach the United States a lesson it would never forget.

Threats are made by both Washington and Tehran.

Is it not time to end heightening tension? Is it not time to start looking for solutions, for ways of settling the conflict peacefully, not by the build up of the military might, not by the stepping up of the "war of tankers" and "war of cities". The Afghan-Pakistani agreements signed in Geneva showed that given good will, a peaceful solution ofeven a most complicated regional conflict can be found.

## U.S. 'Preconditions' for Liberalizing Trade

*PM251115 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[V. Mikheyev "Pertinent Remarks": "To Destroy Artificial Barriers"]

[Text] What does the "linkage" principle in U.S. foreign policy look like if you transfer it for more graphic clarity to the plane of everyday domestic concerns? It is like being asked, as soon as you arrive at work, for a certificate from your wife that you have done your morning jogging or loosened up with dumbbells. Or a passenger is allowed into a cab only after he has been able to prove that he has exhausted the possibilities of all other forms of transport. Or movie theater tickets are sold only if you present a library season ticket....

Such scenes, apparently borrowed from the "theater of the absurd," come to mind whenever Washington circles, which fear that "trade with the Soviets" will turn into aiding and abetting the "aggressor," start advancing preconditions for the liberalization of their commercial ties with the USSR. This is a long-standing practice, fed by the juices of the economic and technological blockade erected by enemies since the first years of Soviet power.

Today the priorities have shifted slightly. In response to vague promises to reduce the list of goods whose importation into the USSR is prohibited or even to grant most-favored-nation status, U.S. conservatives advance demands for "political concessions." It cannot be claimed that, under conditions of livelier bilateral relations, the U.S. Administration is being led along by them. But neither is it turning a "deaf ear," as it were, to them.

Hence, once again, the linking of "progress in economic relations" with the situation in the human rights sphere, which could be heard at the recently concluded 11th annual meeting of members of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council in Moscow. Since the Soviet Union is now vigorously tackling these humanitarian questions, U.S. officials, evidently out of fears of wittingly narrowing the platform of their claims, have gone further and declared: "Fundamental improvements in trade depend on further improvements in other spheres of our bilateral relations."

How, after this, are we to understand the accusations being made on the other side of the ocean that the Soviet Union has excessively "politicized" trade?

Let us remember. It was precisely the United States that was in on the creation of the Coordinating Committee to Control Exports to Socialist Countries (Cocom), which is prepared to categorize even a button as "strategic" if it can be sewn onto a soldier's uniform shirt.

It was precisely the U.S. Congress that adopted the Jackson-Vannik Amendment, which made the granting of most-favored-nation status conditional on a change in the USSR's existing emigration regulations.

It was precisely Washington that imposed sanctions on West European firms which dared to supply equipment for the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipelines. There are many such examples.

Was Washington thinking only in terms of the economic harm which the Soviet Union was to suffer as a result of the embargo tactics? A commentary in BUSINESS WEEK magazine on the Jackson-Vannik Amendment is noteworthy: It was aimed not so much at internal changes in Soviet emigration policy as at "preventing the increasing relaxation of tension in Soviet-U.S. relations." Thus, trade was to serve as a lever to exert political pressure and not as an additional prop for mutually advantageous all-around cooperation.

In private talks with U.S. businessmen who have come to Moscow not out of idle curiosity but out of considerations of businesslike advantage, it has come to light that they too dislike the artificial barriers erected in their path by Washington politicians. Now that the sphere of economic activity for industrially developed Western countries is shrinking, that the number of solvent markets is falling, and that the internal U.S. market itself is becoming the chief prize in the competitive struggle, it is necessary to take a new look at the trend toward interdependence.

And also to be aware of the logical "linkage" in this case: The more the United States and the Soviet Union depend on each other in the economic sphere, the more responsible we will also be in our policies toward each other. And the sooner the status of greatest mutual understanding will be established between us.

## ASTEC Participants View Trade Outlook

*PM221457 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[V. Mikheyev report: "ASTEC: Gaining Access to Progressive Technologies. The 11th Annual Meeting of Members of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council Has Ended"]

[Text] No one actually raised the task of summing up the results of the 15 years of the existence of ASTEC [American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council], but abundant information about the state of business ties between the two states just lay there in the two baskets—"credit" and "debit."

On the credit side there is the influx of fresh forces: In Fiscal 1986 the ASTEC membership totaled 164 U.S. firms. In the following year membership almost doubled. Fourteen protocols were signed on the intention to set up

joint enterprises, among which agreements between Pan-American and Aeroflot and between Combustion Engineering and the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry take pride of place.

A new concept of the development of USSR-U.S. trade and economic cooperation has become firmly established within the framework of ASTEC. There is evidence of a trend toward stepping up cooperation in priority spheres—oil extraction, instrument building, the motor vehicle industry, and processing of agricultural produce—and toward diversifying forms of cooperation and involving new participants in the trade dialogue.

What is hampering progress along this path? Soviet export goods are still subject to customs tariffs which are frequently 5 or 10 percent higher than customs duties on other countries' goods. Rigid export quotas also apply. And as for the imports of U.S. goods, they have to comply strictly with a list of goods which are not allowed to be exported to the USSR—a list which is sometimes longer than the notorious Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] lists. Suffice it to say that it contains more than 100,000 items. The ban applies above all to scientific and high-tech goods. However, it is obvious that the Soviet Union, sworn to modernize its economy, will never be a market for stale goods and obsolete technologies.

Quite apart from the fact that not all U.S. businessmen are ready to link trade and politics and regard their contracts in the broader context of bilateral relations, there are plenty of reasons for them today to study the situation on the Soviet market. What are these reasons?

"Prior to the early eighties, many U.S. firms did not really try to enter the external market. But as foreign importers have been displacing them on the domestic market, U.S. producers have changed their views. That means that today the United States is more ready than ever before to establish firm and long-term trade ties with countries on whose markets the share of U.S. goods has been minimal until recently," William Copeland, president of the corporation "Copeland Economics Group," said in concluding his speech at the session of the committee on small and medium-sized firms.

Somewhat earlier this businessman expressed himself even more to the point: In order to eliminate its trade deficit, the United States "must develop trade with other parts of the world—Eastern Europe, for instance, or, more specifically, the Soviet Union."

The guests did not arrive empty-handed. Richard Mahoney, president of Monsanto, one of the world's leading producers of chemicals, regards it necessary to open a new dimension in bilateral trade and economic relations. "I propose joint projects for the development of progressive technologies. Soviet scientific research centers, university laboratories, and design bureaus will focus their efforts on inventions and technological innovations for which the U.S. side will get the licenses. In return we offer subsidies for research work and pay out 'fees' in each specific case," Monsanto President Richard Mahoney told IZVESTIYA.

In the break between sessions in the halls of the International Trade Center it was possible to verify the U.S. businessmen's interest in building bridges for long-term cooperation. A short interview with James Thompson, governor of Illinois, is indicative in this respect. In August 1987 his state became a member of ASTEC—which is not surprising, since it is the seat of the "regulars" of the Soviet market, companies such as Dresser Industries, Caterpillar, FMC, and others.

"We have come with 17 specific proposals for the development of the trade and economic dialogue," J. Thompson said. "We would like to involve small and medium-sized firms unfamiliar with your market and with no experience of commercial relations with the Soviet Union. That is to say, I see my visit as a sign to them that their governor regards breaking into the Soviet market as a worthy undertaking.

...Wain Bennett, president of the U.S. Soybean Producers' Association, believes in the future of Soviet-American trade. And not without reason. Four months ago they supplied 90 million bushels of soy beans to the Ukraine. It is noteworthy that this is his second visit to the USSR: The first was in 1972, also at the height of a "thaw."

Can you detect a natural consequence in this? This question was answered by Boris Petrovich Alekseyev, head of ASTEC's Moscow mission:

"In the joint statement on the results of the Washington summit in December last year, both sides expressed interest in the development of trade relations. This has served as a very important impulse. Why? USSR-U.S. trade is strongly politicized. U.S. business circles received the news from Washington as a sign of approval. Not all doors are open yet. Not all barriers have been swept away. But an important, albeit small, step forward has been taken."

## Murakhovskiy Meets With U.S. Businessmen

*PM211213 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received J. Turner, vice president of American National Can, on 14 April.

During the talk certain specific questions of cooperation in the sphere of agro-industrial production were discussed.

The same day V.S. Murakhovskiy received D. Kendall, chairman of Pepsico Inc.

During the meeting agreement was reached on expanding trade and economic ties.

### U.S.-Soviet Trade Commission Forum Ends

*PM211223 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Constructive Approach"]

[Text] The 10th session of the Soviet-U.S. Trade Commission, which was held in Moscow on 12-14 April, is over. The instruction to convene the session was contained in the joint statement on the results of the summit between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan last December in Washington.

A protocol on extending the scope of the long-term agreement between the USSR and the United States on promoting economic, industrial, and technical cooperation to new forms of economic ties, including the creation of joint enterprises, was signed at the commission session.

The sides adopted a joint statement on the further development of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the United States, containing the intention to take specific steps in this sphere. The sides also registered in the session protocol their consent to setting up within the commission framework several working groups for developing business contacts in different industrial sectors.

The commission session was held in a businesslike and constructive spirit.

## Northeast Asia

### Yazov Greets O Chin-u on DPRK Army Jubilee

*PM270745 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Greetings message from Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister: "To Vice Marshal Comrade O Chin-u of the Korean People's Army, DPRK Defense Minister"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I send you and all DPRK servicemen fraternal greetings and congratulations on the 56th anniversary of the creation of the People's Armed Forces.

The Korean People's Army has traveled a glorious combat path and is now a well-equipped modern army vigilantly guarding peace and socialism.

Soviet servicemen support the Korean people's foreign policy initiatives and are in solidarity with their struggle for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korean territory and for the peaceful democratic unification of the motherland.

I wish Korean People's Army personnel new successes in improving their combat skills for the sake of the strengthening of the DPRK's defense capability.

May the friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries' peoples and armies strengthen.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

### Vinogradov Views Japanese Military Plans

*PM261059 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3*

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Dangerous Direction"]

[Text] According to a KYODO report, for the fourth day now the sky over extensive regions of Hokkaido and the northern part of the largest island in the Japanese archipelago—Kyushu—is being torn apart by the roar of aircraft engines. About 50 U.S. Air Force F-16 fighter bombers stationed at the Misawa airbase are conducting major exercises. Making more than 100 flights daily, the U.S. pilots are carrying out low altitude strikes at ground targets.

Two factors attract attention in this report. The first is this. As is known, F-16 aircraft are nuclear-capable. And the U.S. command admits that two squadrons of these combat aircraft regularly conduct exercises in the Misawa airbase region, simulating combat operations in nuclear war conditions. In addition, according to information from the AKAHATA newspaper, at Misawa itself and at six other U.S. bases in Japan there are special subunits of the U.S. Armed Forces to eliminate the consequences of accidents with nuclear weapons.

Now F-16 aircraft are not confining themselves to the Misawa region, but are increasingly taking part in militarist shows of strength in Japan's northernmost regions. That is, those areas which are literally a stone's throw from Soviet territory. At the same time Misawa itself, with Tokyo's consent, is being turned into a key bridgehead for carrying out mass strikes in the event of an "emergency" arising in the Far East. AKAHATA reports, citing documents which have come into its hands, that a depot for particularly powerful naval

armaments has been created at this airbase. The newspaper believes that nuclear depth charges, in particular, could be there. A special command center designed to transmit orders to forces in wartime has been created at the base.

The second factor relates to the Japanese island close to Soviet territory over which U.S. military pilots are now conducting their militarist training sessions. If the Pentagon is turning the Misawa airbase into its own bridgehead, then the Japan Defense Agency intends to do the same with the entire island of Hokkaido. The holding of all kinds of military maneuvers and exercises on and around it is only a part of the broad plan which envisages turning Hokkaido into a powerful militarist bastion.

This plan became known from a secret document which came into the hands of the YOMIURI newspaper. It is apparent from this document that the stationing of additional tank and artillery units will be completed very soon on Hokkaido. The Japanese National Defense Agency then intends to deploy on the island a new generation of fighters whose development is being completed by Japanese and U.S. companies. The stationing on the island of the latest SSM-1 ground-based cruise missiles made in Japan has been planned. The National Defense Agency has earmarked several billion yen for this purpose.

Incidentally, Japan's military appropriations for the next financial year should also be mentioned. The year began 1 April, and military expenditure has been set at more than 3.7 trillion yen. And that means that for the second year running Tokyo is exceeding the limit of 1 percent of the GNP stipulated for military expenditure. This excess is seemingly becoming a new tradition.

Actually, the increase in Japan's military appropriations is also caused partly by the fact that the present cabinet has decided to double Japanese expenditure on maintaining U.S. military bases in the country. And so it turns out that Tokyo is using its yen not only to militarize Hokkaido island but also to help the Pentagon to turn Misawa into a military bridgehead. Moreover, the direction of these efforts is blatantly obvious. It is extremely dangerous, since it aims to keep the Soviet Far East in its sights. One cannot fail to see how sharply such militarist efforts by Washington and Tokyo contrast with peoples' desire to live in peace and good-neighborliness.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Razumovskiy Undertakes Tour of Vietnam

*LD271100 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Hanoi April 27 TASS—A delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), led by Georgiy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and visiting in Vietnam at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), set out on a tour of the country today.

In Hanoi the delegation was seen off by Nguyen Duc Tam, member of the Political Bureau of the CPV Central Committee, secretary of the CPV Central Committee, and by other officials.

### Philippine President's China Visit Evaluated

*PM261557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 First Edition p 7*

[Own correspondent Dmitriy Kosyrev dispatch: "Beijing—Manila"]

[Text] Manila, 21 Apr—"A very successful visit"—this is how President C. Aquino of the Philippines assessed the results of her recently concluded trip to the PRC at a news conference held in Manila.

What specifically was achieved? On a political plane, people in the Philippines attach importance to the statement by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, that the PRC will not support insurgent groupings in the Philippines. Beijing in turn received assurances that Manila will follow the "one China" policy, even though it will preserve trade ties with Taiwan. Other questions were also discussed.

The president did not omit to point out that the very fact of her trip abroad denotes a success, since the calm and order in Manila while she was away graphically confirmed the groundlessness of the constantly circulating rumors of the preparation of new military putsches. But, if we speak of stability, it follows from the president's words at the news conference that the Philippine leadership considers economic development the chief means of ensuring stability. The following situation is taking shape here. On the one hand, there was economic growth of 5.6 percent last year, and there is a growing stream of foreign capital investments. On the other, there is 9-percent inflation and annual payments under the $28 billion foreign debt, which now "eat up" some $2 billion a year. In this connection, the visit to China seemed to pursue mainly economic ends. A number of agreements were reached: Beijing promises to redress the imbalance in bilateral trade by purchasing Philippine goods; Beijing's consent to sales of Chinese oil to the Philippines at "friendly prices" was secured; the delivery of 10,000 tonnes of rice is expected as a gift from China. But that is not all.

"We opened many new doors," C. Aquino declared. Thus, the president's trip to the village of Xiamen, Fujian Province, the birthplace of one of her ancestors who emigrated from China to the Philippines, was a farsighted political gesture calculated to get a favorable response from both Beijing and the Chinese community in the Philippines itself.

According to local press assessments, Chinese capital in the Philippines owns large shareholdings in the majority of the commercial banks and controls many sectors of the economy. The activation of the Chinese community here could set in motion large reserves for the economic development of the Philippines. And not only internal reserves. As the MANILA CHRONICLE points out, the Philippine Chinese have business ties throughout Southeast Asia. This undoubtedly opens up before the Philippines new opportunities in the region.

Thus, the president's trip attests to Manila's desire to extend the range of its economic ties and end its one-sided dependence on its "traditional" partners—the United States above all. The future will show whether this course will lead to success.

**Further on Shevardnadze-Lao Envoy Meeting**
*BK261349 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 25 Apr 88*

[Text] The Soviet Union supports Laos' constructive policy aimed at building good-neighborly relations with Thailand. This was stated during the meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the Lao ambassador in Moscow. It was stressed during the meeting that Laos made efforts to settle the dispute with Thailand through negotiations.

Our commentator, Comrade Vladimir Korolev, said: [Words indistinct] territorial border dispute between the two countries. Thailand always tried to resolve this problem through the use of armed force. In this situation, Laos took the initiative in proposing that the conflict be settled peacefully. The two sides sat down at the negotiating table, and an important result of this negotiation was the cease-fire and the withdrawal of both countries' troops from the disputed area. Thailand and Laos stated that they would never again use military operations to resolve their problems. Calm now prevails all along the Thai-Lao border. The future will show how long the outcome of the talks between the two countries will last.

For the time being, it is obvious that, with some goodwill, all problems can be settled. [Words indistinct] goodwill has materialized. This is a concrete example of the new political thinking which is casting a growing influence in the international arena. The impact can be felt most tellingly and particularly in the case of Afghanistan. It is being said everywhere more and more now that the agreement on Afghanistan may be used as a model to put out other flames of international conflicts, including the Cambodian issue. In this connection, during the meeting between the comrade Soviet foreign minister and the Lao ambassador, both sides voiced support for the resumption of talks between Comrade Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, a leader of the Khmer opposition groups. As shown by the recent implementation of international [word indistinct], negotiation is the only way to a positive settlement of all problems; there is no other alternative. Is the confrontation in Southeast Asia which is [words indistinct] negotiation and aspiration of countries in the region to settle their problems peacefully not reflecting this tendency, be it the Cambodian problem or the aforementioned peace [word indistinct] between Laos and Thailand?

## Near East & South Asia

**Explosion in Kabul Reportedly Kills 4**
*LD271346 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Kabul April 27 TASS—A truck bomb blew up in one of the busy squares in Kabul around noon today.

According to preliminary data, it killed four and injured another seven people, besides causing significant damage to nearby motor vehicles.

Investigating authorities said the truck, which arrived in Kabul from Pakistan, must have carried an estimated 150 or so kilograms of explosives.

**Government Statement on Geneva Afghan Accords**
*PM271125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Text] The agreements on a political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan signed in mid-April in Geneva remain in the focus of attention of political circles and the world public.

There is a virtually unanimous opinion being expressed that an event has occurred which is of exceptional importance and tremendous international significance creating the external conditions required to settle the Afghanistan problem.

This view of the completed Geneva process is only natural. An important breakthrough has been made in defusing one of the most complex contemporary regional conflicts, whose reverberations were felt most acutely far beyond the geographical region in which it was developing.

By its significance, the signing of the Geneva accords ranks alongside the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

In both cases, success has proved possible owing to the sides' readiness to take account of one another's interests. Like the treaty, the Geneva agreements demonstrate that new political thinking can take the upper hand over the psychology of confrontation and over outdated stereotypes in international politics.

The path to completing the Geneva process has not been easy. There were ups and downs, as well as hopes and disappointments along that road, but in the long run it is

realism, common sense, and the desire of all sides involved in the settlement process to reach a mutually acceptable understanding that have prevailed.

The decisive impulse was given by the statements of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan on February 8, 1988.

At their meeting in Tashkent on 7 April 1988, Gorbachev and Najibullah were able to state that thanks to constructive interaction among all those involved in the settlement efforts, the last barriers to signing the agreements have been cleared away.

Much credit for the successful outcome of the Geneva process belongs to the UN secretary general and his personal envoy to the talks. This bears out once again the UN potential for settling crises.

The Geneva agreements are a balance of commitments and interests. The commitments include the cessation of an undeclared war against Afghanistan and the adoption of essential measures to plug the source of that war in Pakistani territory (relevant international guarantees have been given on this score).

The problem of securing the return of Afghan refugees to their fatherland is being resolved. Conditions are being created for them to be able to return to their homes and to a peaceful life in their country unhindered.

The agreements determine the timeframe and phases for the return of Soviet troops home from Afghanistan, where they have been staying at the request of the Afghan Government.

Their withdrawal will begin on 15 May 1988 and will be completed not later than 15 February 1989. Our country is waiting for its sons, who have helped a friendly neighboring nation that has found itself in trouble.

The Soviet people will never forget their exploit, and will hold sacred the memory of those who have laid down their lives on Afghan soil.

The further destiny of the political settlement regarding Afghanistan now depends on how responsibly, consistently, and vigorously the entire complex of the commitments assumed by the sides will be implemented. The Soviet Union intends to act fully in keeping with the Geneva accords, precisely and rigorously adhering to their provisions. There should be no doubt to this effect: The agreement about the withdrawal of Soviet troops, like the other obligations of the parties, is irreversible. The Afghan Government proclaimed its determination to comply with its obligations honestly and consistently. A mechanism of monitoring and verification under UN auspicies is being established in keeping with the agreements. This enhances the degree of confidence about the implementation of the accords.

The stance of certain politicians and statesmen cannot but cause concern, however. The ink with which the signatures to the Geneva accords were made had hardly dried than statements contradicting the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords started being made. In this connection, the Soviet side would like to emphasize again that the rights and obligations of the parties to the accords clearly stem from their texts. Any deviation from the recorded accords can harm the cause of the Afghan settlement and impair the moral prestige of a state that broke the obligation assumed before the whole world.

Establishment of peace on Afghan soil becomes quite feasible with the signing of the Geneva accords. These agreements create conditions for the solution of Afghanistan's internal affairs without outside interference, without further bloodshed.

The Afghan Government's known proposals about cease-fire and national reconciliation remain fully valid. The absolute majority of the Afghans met the conclusion of the Geneva Accords with approval and hope. It is only that Peshawar-based "recalcitrant opposition" that persists in its unwillingness to recognize the results of the Geneva process and refuses to stop military operations. Its bellicose statements are nothing new. They only show that the sense of responsibility for the destinies of their country and their people is lacking. Pakistan, whose government signed an obligation not to tolerate the presence in its territory of political and other groups whose aim is to conduct subversive activity against the Government of Afghanistan, their hiding at camps and bases, or in any other way, their organization, training, financing, equipping and arming, should now have its weighty say.

The entire international community now follows the developments in Afghanistan with ever closer attention. The policy of national reconciliation conducted by the Afghan leadership headed by President Najibullah has yielded its first results prior to the signing of the Geneva Accords and increasingly draws to its side different strata of Afghan society. Many Afghans outside their country have declared in favor of this policy, too.

The leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed its readiness to start a dialogue with all the opposition forces, including those who continue the fighting. It is now generally recognized that the implementation of this line is a matter for the Afghans themselves.

It is only they that can find ways which will be acceptable to their country, to reach agreement on a nationwide basis. The process can be assisted by others as well.

But it is important in the first place not to take any outside actions that could aggravate the situation and complicate the attainment of mutual understanding between the Afghans themselves.

Mediation efforts by UN Under Secretary General Diego Cordovez could also be useful in this context.

The Soviet Government believes that abidance by the Geneva Accords is the most important condition for restoring peace to long-suffering Afganistan and for its assertion as an independent, nonaligned, neutral nation.

The agreements signed in Geneva mark a qualitatively new phase not only in the Soviet-Afghan relationship, but also in the resolution of the entire Afghanistan problem.

To help the Afghan people arrange a peaceful life is a duty for all statesmen, politicians, community leaders and all honest people.

### Perez de Cuellar Praises Afghan Accords

*LD262228 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] New York April 27 TASS—Replying on Tuesday to questions by journalists, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar appraised highly the agreements signed in Geneva on a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation. Touching on various speculations concerning the further development of events in Afghanistan, he noted that the U.N. Secretariat in its activities on rendering assistance in fulfilling these agreements proceeds from the premise that all parties which signed the Geneva documents, will fulfil them honestly and strictly.

Javier Perez de Cuellar announced the appointment of Diego Cordovez, U.N. under-secretary general for special political affairs, his representative on settling the Afghanistan situation. According to the Geneva agreements, he will render assistance to participants in these agreements in ensuring their complete and strict fulfilment.

## Further Reportage on Afghan National Holiday

### Congratulatory Message to Leaders

*PM270923 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Message from Soviet leading bodies' to Afghan leaders on the anniversary of the April Revolution]

[Text] To Comrade Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA, and Comrade Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers.

Dear comrades!

Please accept cordial congratulations on the friendly Afghan people's national holiday—the 10th anniversary of the April national democratic revolution in Afghanistan.

The road traveled these 10 years has been a hard one, and the Afghan people have not only had to decide under the conditions of a fierce internal struggle which path to choose for their future development taking into account all their country's special features, but have also had to uphold the state's independence in an undeclared war situation.

The new Afghan leadership's national reconciliation policy, which was the result of a thorough appreciation of the realities, and which embraced the customs and traditions of the Afghan people and the consistent line toward a political settlement of the Afghan situation, made it possible to bring about a practical solution of this most acute regional conflict. The signing by Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United States of the Geneva agreements, strict observance of which means the cessation of outside interference in Afghan affairs, the solution of external aspects of the Afghan problem, and the return home of Soviet forces and Afghan refugees, was a big success for the international community in the spirit of the new thinking.

The national reconciliation policy, having paved the way for national dialogue on a broad political basis, opened up prospects for the formation of a coalition government involving all the forces representing Afghan society, including those currently opposing one another.

A new stage is opening up in Soviet-Afghan relations. In their just struggle for an independent, nonaligned, and neutral Afghanistan, its people can continue to count on the Soviet Union's full understanding and solidarity and consistent implementation of the principles of good-neighborliness, respect for sovereignty, and equality.

On the jubilee, we wish you and the entire Afghan people peace and progress in accordance with their independent choice.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers.

### Afghan Envoy's News Conference

*LD261130 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr (TASS)—The Afghan people are grateful and thankful to Soviet soldiers who have fulfilled their internationalist duty in Afghanistan and will begin returning home on 15 May, stated Muhammadullah Subhani Safi', ambassador of the republic of Afghanistan in the USSR. He addressed a press conference today at the Afghan Embassy on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

"As for defending the gains of our revolution after the withdrawal of Soviet troops we are sure that if the Geneva agreements are observed Afghan regular troops will be able to give a worthy rebuff to the bandits," stressed the ambassador.

## Further on News Conference

*LD261503 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—"The April Revolution has been the most remarkable event in the history of Afghanistan, the natural outcome of our people's struggle for a better life and freedom", said Afghanistan's Ambassador to the USSR Muhammadullah Subhani Safi'. He spoke here today at a press conference in the Embassy of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The ambassador noted that in ten years that had passed since the revolution, the people had laid out a durable foundation for the country's development. He noted, however, that throughout these years the Afghan people had to fight against a conspiracy against the revolution, a conspiracy unprecedented for its scope.

Summing up the policy of national reconcilition, the ambassador emphasised that it embodied the will and interests of the people. "The aim of the revolution was to enable the people, tired out by a prolonged war, to achieve in peaceful conditions what it expected from the revolution, of what it has been dreaming over many centuries".

Noting the historic importance of the Geneva Accords, the ambassador said that "either essence is to end the war and bloodshed waged from the outside, to create the conditions for a return of a limited contingent of Soviet troops to their peaceful country". The Geneva Accords, the ambassador said, are not just a striking example of the process of the further settlement of the situation in the country. They open the way for political solutions of other regional conflicts. The ambassador expressed the hope that "the USA and Pakistan will honestly fulfil the obligations assumed in Geneva, which will create favourable conditions for the further settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and the region".

"The creation of a coalition government on the basis of the participation of broad circles of the population is one of the proposals of the Afghan Government toward an internal settlement", the ambassador said in answer to questions from reporters. "The opposition has already been offered more than 20 posts in the government. If it manifests flexibility and expresses the readiness to take part in managing state affairs, this system will be set in motion in near future".

Touching upon a possible intensification of the armed opposition after a limited contingent of Soviet troops leaves Afghanistan, the ambassador said that outside interference in Afghanistan's affairs should be ended and military aid to units of bandits stopped after the Geneva accords come into effect. "All the refugees will return home and I think that only a small number of people will try to continue an armed struggle against people's power".

## Envoy Speaks on TV

*LD261944 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Taking part in our program is Muhammadulah Subhani Safi', ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan in the Soviet Union:

[Safi, speaking in Russian] Dear friends! The April national democratic revolution is the most important event in Afghanistan's history. It initiated the crushing of the system of centuries-old feudal repression and opened up before the multinational Afghan society the prospects of social and economic progress, genuine justice, and democratic freedoms. In the course of the 10 revolutionary years, the industrious people of Afghanistan, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, have laid broad foundations for the country's development along the path of national democracy. Favorable prerequisites have been created to make use of our rich natural resources.

At the same time, our people were confronted with the necessity of fighting unprecedentedly widescale conspiracies against the revolution, suffering huge human and material losses in a bloody and fratricidal war. The people are tired of this war. Speaking of this, Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, said that ardent aspirations for peace and a desire for the quickest possible end to the war and fratricide have led us to declare and implement the policy of national reconciliation. The sincere aspiration of the PDPA and the Government for a general Afghan peace is indicated by the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, the liberation of political prisoners, the promulgation of the law on a multiparty system, the holding of parliamentary elections, the proposals to establish a coalition government, and many other political and socioeconomic steps over the past year.

The statements of 8 February this year by Comrade Najibullah and Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the joint statement by the two countries of 7 April removed the last obstacles in the way of the historic success of the Geneva negotiations, which are welcomed by all Afghans and all peace-loving forces on earth. We pay tribute to the efforts of the UN secretary general and his personal representative, and hope that honest fulfillment of the Geneva obligations assumed by the United States and Pakistan will open the way to solving further issues of the situation in Afghanistan and in the region.

I should like to take the opportunity to express profound gratitude, on behalf of the Republic of Afghanistan Government and on behalf of the Afghan people, to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people for their constant selfless and friendly support and great fraternal

assistance, and to the courageous Soviet internationalist servicemen who have defended the April Revolution and the sovereignty of Afghanistan. And I should like to wish all Soviet people great success on the path of restructuring and further prosperity.

Thank you for your attention.

### Afghan Military Parade Reported

*LD262052 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the Afghan people are celebrating their national holiday, the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

[Correspondent M. Leshchinskiy, identified by captian] This is what happens in Kabul's central square on every anniversary of the April Revolution. [video shows shots of Kabul parade] In spite of the unvarying ritual, today's celebrations were unusual. For it is not just that the revolution has marked its double digit date: the emotional atmosphere was different, as was the mood of people who, at this crucial time for Afghanistan, are seeking answers to many questions worrying them.

Here is the military parade, a demonstration of military might and technical equipment. But are these sufficient to withstand the military opposition whose leaders even after Geneva are declaring their determination to continue the war until the existing legitimate authority is overthrown? Do the men of the Afghan Army, once their Soviet comrades have departed—as they soon will—have sufficient courage, training, and conviction in the struggle for the goals of the revolution? A parade is only a parade, of course; but you will agree that it nevertheless does give a feeling of confidence. [video shows Najibullah on stand watching parade; formations of uniformed servicemen, flower-garlanded tank; parade of tanks, missiles, APC's T-62 tanks, SA-2 missiles on transporters, BMP-1's; Afghan women march past in national dress, carrying rifles; crowds of people waving flags; carpet with picture on board a carnival float]

Those taking part in the colorful demonstration of many thousands of people answered many questions. For example, how do they want to see their country? Like this, like on this lively panel: peaceful, abundant, rich in the gifts of the earth and the labor of the people. Today these people are cheerful, at least those who came to the demonstration. But when the holiday ends, the questions will remain. And it is the Afghan people alone who must answer them.

### More on Parade, Envoy Comments

*LD262125 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Today we are paying special attention to what is taking place in Kabul, the capital of the Republic of Afghanistan. In connection with the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution, a military parade and working people's demonstration took place. In a telegram sent by a TASS correspondent it is noted that the main square of the country, Jadah-ye Enqelab, is festively decorated and leaders of the party, and government and foreign delegations attending the celebrations are on the platform, together with citizens and guests visiting the capital. Among those invited to the celebrations is a USSR state delegation headed by Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Lieutenant General Muhammad Rafi', the republic's defense minister, delivered a speech before the military parade. He expressed feelings of profound gratitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries for the vast, invaluable help given by them to the young Republic of Afghanistan. Minister Rafi' noted in particular the help given by Soviet servicemen-internationalists in defending the achievements of the April Revolution: Names of heroes of the two peoples will remain in our hearts forever. Then a festive march of the capital's garrison troops took place after which a working people's demonstration was held.

Also today, a news conference devoted to the 10th anniversary of the April national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan was held by Muhammadulah Subhani Safi', ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union. Our correspondent (Ashot Nashibov) attended the news conference:

[(Nashibov)] Addressing the journalists, the Afghan ambassador noted that the April Revolution was the most important event in the centuries-long history of the country. It laid the foundations for the elimination of the feudal system and opened a path toward economic development, ensuring social justice, and toward democratic freedoms. At the same time, however, Afghan people must fight a plot against the revolution which is unprecedented in scale. The country has suffered great human and material losses. Taking into account the realistic situation and the burning efforts of the Afghan people for peace, the republic's leadership declared the policy of national reconciliation, Muhammadulah Subhani Safi' stressed. The aim of this policy is for the Afghan people, tired of bloodshed, to be able to achieve peacefully what is expected from the national-democratic revolution. The adoption of the Afghan Constitution, the freeing of political prisoners, the proposal to set up a coalition government, the return of 120,000 refugees to the homeland, the 40,000 armed opposition men crossing over to the government side—all these facts show the sincere efforts of the Afghan leadership for reconciliation in the country and there have been definite successes in this cause, the ambassador underlined.

The statements by the leaders of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, Dr Najibullah and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, of 8 February and the joint Tashkent statement of 7 April, removed the last obstacles on the path of the Geneva process and enabled the successful signing of corresponding agreements. These agreements provide for the settlement of external aspects of the Afghan problem and create conditions for the return home of the contingent of Soviet troops.

Among the questions asked of the Afghan ambassador was one from a correspondent of the U.S. newspaper THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER on whether a flareup of armed activities and violence was possible in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. We think, the ambassador replied, that if the sides which signed the Geneva agreements and undertook the obligations observe them strictly and do not start supplying arms and money to the opposition, then the regular Afghan army will be able to defend peace in the country, its security and integrity.

### Ryuytel Addresses Meeting

*LD262020 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—"The April Revolution in Afghanistan occupies a prominent place in the history of the world's popular struggles for democracy and social progress," Arnold Ryuytel, a vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR, said today.

He was speaking at a public meeting here devoted to the revolution's 10th anniversary

Since the very start of an undeclared war against Afghanistan, the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government, he said, have been taking energetic measures to help the people of that country uphold the gains of the April Revolution.

Speaking of Geneva accords on Afghanistan, Ryuytel stressed that "they give the hope that the external factors impeding a settlement will be removed and the long-awaited peace will come to Afghan soil".

He added that "the Geneva agreements are a triumph for political realism and new political thinking and make for strengthened peace in the region and the world as a whole."

In this connection Ryuytel described the Soviet Union's political decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan as a vivid example of a new approach to the Asian security problem.

He also spoke of Soviet assistance to friendly Afghanistan.

"With Soviet help 290 facilities are being built in Afghanistan and 90,000 specialists have been trained. Factories built or overhauled with the assistance of the USSR are now responsible for more than 60 percent of Afghanistan's industrial production.

"Contacts and exchanges between Afghan provinces and constituent Soviet republics have become a new development in cooperation between the two countries," Ryuytel said.

Speaking at the meeting, Muhammadulah Subhani Safi', ambasador of Afghanistan to the USSR, expressed gratitude to this country for its support to the national reconciliation policy and assistance at the Geneva talks.

"We greatly appreciate the Soviet Union's disinterested help to the Afghan people," he said.

## Power Engineering Accord Signed With Afghans

### Joint Projects Described

*LD260113 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 25 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—The Soviet Union will give assistance to Afghanistan in drawing up a scheme for the development of that country's power engineering for the period ending in 2000. This is stipulated by an intergovernmental agreement signed here today by Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, and Mahbullah Koshani, chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The document envisions a further extension of the two countries' economic cooperation in implementing projects in the field of power engineering in Afghanistan. Among them is preparatory work to build a string of hydro-electric power stations on the Kabul River. The commissioning of this project, which is of major importance to the economy of the Republic of Afghanistan, will allow the country to cut significantly the shortage of electricity in that country's central areas.

Besides, Soviet organisations will assist their Afghan partners in building a power transmission line and substations in northern and central provinces of Afghanistan, including in completing the construction of a trunk high-tension line from the border with the Soviet Union to Kabul. Thus, wide opportunities will be created to feed electricity to many cities and villages of Afghanistan. The scheme to supply electricity to settlements in various areas of Afghanistan, in whose development Soviet specialists will also take part, will serve the same purpose.

Many power-generating projects, among them the 100-mw hydro-electric power station Najlun have already been built in Afghanistan with Soviet assistance. The electric power stations erected with Soviet assistance generate almost 50 percent of all electricity in Afghanistan now.

### Training of Engineers

*LD270039 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] The signing of a Soviet-Afghan agreement on economic and technical cooperation in the field of power engineering took place in Moscow at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. It envisages further development in the two countries' cooperation in the design and construction of power engineering facilities in Afghanistan and in training Afghan power engineers. The agreement was signed by Koshani, deputy prime minister, chairman of the Afghan Republic's State Planning Committee, and Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations. Taking part in the signing ceremony was Safi', Afghanistan's ambassador to the USSR.

### General Warns of 'Third World War' in Gulf

*LD271027 Kuwait KUNA in English 0848 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Kuwait, April 2 (KUNA)—A Soviet general said that an explosion was expected anytime in the Middle East as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict remained unresolved and warned against serious repercussions in the Gulf if the Iraq-Iran war was not stopped.

Gen. Yuriy Markivov [name as received], a specialist in Mideastern conflicts, told Kuwaiti daily 'AL-SIYASAH' published Wednesday, that a military explosion is expected anytime in the Mideast until the Israelis evacuate the occupied Arab territories.

He, however, said that since the Arab military might was divided the general only saw a political possibility for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Markivov, meanwhile, defended potentials of his country's weapons in face of American arms in the Middle East and said that owning armaments alone is not enough but rather their successful use is all what counts.

The general, shifting to the Gulf war, said that if Soviet weapons are employed in the Gulf then a third world war will ensue. He did not elaborate on this point.

He reiterated Moscow's stance calling for withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Gulf waters and replacing them with international forces working under the U.N. flag.

When U.S. President Ronald Reagan meets with Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow next month the Gulf war will be on agenda and "we will try to reach a political settlement to that problems he elaborated.

The general said that his country backs Kuwait against terrorism when asked on Soviet reaction to the hijack of the Kuwaiti jumbo jet Al-Jabiriyah and noted that Soviet-Kuwaiti relations are based on mutual respect and friendship.

### Saudi Arabia Breaks Diplomatic Ties With Iran

*LD270741 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] London April 27 TASS—Saudi Arabia has severed diplomatic relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran, Reuter news agency reported from Riyadh.

An official statement of the Saudi Government was handed to the Iranian charge d'affaire in Riyadh, summoned to Saudi Arabia's Foreign Ministry on Tuesday.

"Saudi Arabia has decided to cut its ties with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran...due to Iran's enemy-like stands towards the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and international harm to its basic interests," the statement said.

Over the past several years the Saudi Kingdom has had tense relations with Iran, Reuter said.

They plummeted last year when some 400 pilgrims were killed in riots at Mecca.

Saudi Arabia blamed Iran for the disturbances claiming that the pilgrims had come to stage a provocation rather than pay homage at Mecca. Iran denied the charge.

### Peresypkin Views Mideast Settlement Prospects

*LD270909 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS-The new political thinking, which has enabled the Soviet Union and its partners to reach the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, to ensure a successful completion of the diplomatic process around Afghanistan, opens prospects also for peace in the Middle East, believes Oleg Peresypkin, rector of the Diplomatic Academy under the USSR Foreign Ministry. The resolution of regional problems, including that of putting an end to the local wars, is among the priority objectives of Soviet foreign policy, he pointed out in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

It is in the interests of Middle East settlement that the Soviet Union is now even more vigorously pressing ahead for the convocation of an international peace conference, Oleg Peresypkin noted. He recalled that in the course of the recent visit to Moscow of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, the Soviet

side proposed that a preparatory committee for the convocation of the Middle East conference be put to action. The Soviet idea of the procedure of the conference, of representation at it, including the Palestinian people, the character of interaction between its participants was for the first time explained and the host party was determined.

In the process of preparations for the conference it is necessary to proceed from the principle that the sides involved in the conflict should gradually go over from confrontation to a search for ways to normalize bilateral relations and the situation in the region as a whole.

"Complicated issues can be settled only through a search for mutually-acceptable versions of settlement", Oleg Peresypkin said. This underlay the Soviet decision to contact Israel with the sole aim of finding out the views of one of the most important sides in the conflict on the convocation of a peace conference, he said. Such contacts by no means signify that the USSR is restoring diplomatic relations with Israel. Our stand remains invariable: The restoration of Soviet-Israeli relations is possible only in the general context of a Middle East settlement".

### Shamir Criticized on Linking Talks to Ties

*TA251755 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 25 Apr 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir has said that as long as Israel and the Soviet Union do not have diplomatic relations, Israel will not join the Soviet Union in any political process in the Middle East. Although at first glance one might see some logic behind this, it is only superficial. As everyone knows, diplomatic practice does not make the establishment of diplomatic relations conditional upon a discussion of subjects of interest to the parties. Israel participated in the 1973 Geneva talks together with the Soviet Union, although then, too, the two countries did not have diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union repeatedly emphasized that the establishment of full ties with Israel may be possible when progress toward a comprehensive Middle East settlement is made. Therefore, from the formal standpoint, Shamir's refusal is groundless.

Let us review the practical aspects. Why, actually, is the Israeli prime minister demanding that the Soviet Union renew ties as a precondition for any political move? The intention is to legitimize the practice of presenting conditions for Soviet participation in international forums alongside Israel. If we agree to resume ties as a precondition, the Shamir government will immediately demand that we allow all the Jews to leave. Such a condition is infeasible, and not only for security reasons. It will again stymie the Middle East political process.

Shamir's stand, in fact, indicates once again his unwillingness to make progress in the regional peace process. Besides, there is also the desire to secure the interests of certain elements both in the Israeli establishment and outside it.

From the Israeli point of view, the refusal to engage in the political process together with the Soviet Union satisfies the members of Kakh, Tehiya, and Gush Emunim, who believe that no peace settlement is acceptable because it would sabotage their efforts to rebuild Greater Israel on the ruins of the Palestinian people. Shamir's position will also be welcomed by extremist anti-Soviet elements in the Likud, as well as by the arms dealers who profit from the absence of peace.

And still this is not all. It seems that some members of the U.S. Administration are also rubbing their hands with glee, because if Israel refuses to participate in the political process together with the Soviet Union, the United States remains the sole broker, and all the U.S. plans will continue to enjoy preference in Israel. To guarantee such a development, the U.S. Administration can block all the efforts to establish a just and stable peace in the Middle East, which is what it has actually been doing for a long time.

### Israel's Africa Policy, Military Aid Condemned

*LD260120 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 25 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik writes:

As the 40th anniversary of Israel's formation is drawing nearer, Zionist propaganda stepped up the efforts to condition the world public opinion. Some African countries, being attracted by considerable payments, ran materials publicizing the "Israeli way of life", reminiscent of the times when Tel Aviv, trying to present itself as a "friend" of developing countries was courting African countries, inundating their capitals with Israeli goods and trying to influence their culture.

However, it will not be amiss to recall different things. 15 years ago Tel Aviv sent its troops against Egypt, an African country, a member of the Organization of African Unity. Since that time, Africans have constantly been alarmed by relapses of Israeli terroristic policy. Leader of the PLO, Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], has recently been brutally murdered by hirelings of Zionists on African soil, in Tunisia. Israeli advisers take part in planning and preparing South Africa's aggression against Angola, in training terrorists from UNITA. [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Since 1975, Israeli advisers have been operating in Namibia, have been helping Pretoria stage armed actions against frontline states, and supplying it with arms.

The Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1973 caused an outbreak of indignation in Africa. Out of unity with Arab peoples, the OAU condemned Israel's annexationist policy, while the overwhelming majority of African countries severed diplomatic relations with Israel. The OAU recommended that relations with Israel should not be resumed until Israel withdraws its troops from all Arab lands it occupies.

There have been little changes in Israel's policy since then. It has possibly become even more terrorist and adventuristic. However, under the United States pressure, some countries of tropical Africa still resumed their relations with Tel Aviv, while several other countries consider following suit.

Washington's interest in Israel's restoring its positions in the black continent confirmed again the old truth that Israel is nothing but a "Trojan horse" of U.S. imperialism in Africa. Acting hand in hand, Washington and Tel Aviv pursue the aim of disuniting Arab and African countries, of weakening them in the face of the military-political and economic expansion of the imperialist circles headed by the USA. This natural conclusion is drawn by the magazine JEUNE AFRIQUE. The United States' and Israel's strategic plans include the knocking together of a bloc of countries of pro-Western and pro-Israeli orientation in Africa. Its main task would be to erode the positions of progressive African countries.

The return of Israel ambassadors to the capitals of some African countries only shows that the leaders of those countries are guided not by African interests at all. As to the rest of Africa, it remains loyal to the principles clearly formulated by the newspaper "NIGERIAN STANDARD". The newspaper declared that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv is now tantamount to recognising the legality of Zionist expansionism, pardoning the sins of the apartheid regime of South Africa and protection of the imperialists' interests.

Africans cannot forgive Israel for its alliance with the Republic of South Africa, the alliance whose ideological basis is formed of theories of racial and national supremacy. The Tel Aviv newspaper HA'ARETZ admitted that the Republic of South Africa is Israel's second main ally after the USA and that Israel is trading with South Africa without restrictions and is a large supplier of armaments to the racists.

## Demichev Receives Lebanese Delegation

*LD261950 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1854 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr (TASS)—The Soviet people have always been on the side of the Lebanese people in their just struggle for the freedom and independence of their homeland, stressed Petr Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at today's meeting in the Kremlin with a Lebanese delegation. It is headed by Marwan Hamadah, a member of the leadership of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon.

We are grateful to the Soviet people for their solidarity and understanding of the problems of the Lebanese people, stressed the head of the delegation. We, he said, attentively follow the USSR's peaceful approaches. For us, the representatives of an Arab country, which has been drawn into a network of imperialist intrigues, it is accepted that the efforts of your country in the struggle for relaxation of tension are gaining more and more support from the peace-loving public.

The Soviet Union, noted Petr Demichev, consistently calls for the Arab territories occupied by Israel to be returned to their lawful owners. We support the right of the Palestinian people to create an autonomous and independent state. He stressed that the Soviet Union urgently calls on the world community to come up with a rapid and just solution to the Near East problem as a whole.

## Moroccan Party's Yata Gives Report at Plenum

*PM251021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 88 First Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Rabat, 20 Apr—A regular plenum of the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS) Central Committee has taken place in Casablanca. 'Ali Yata, the party's secretary general, delivered the report.

He said that the peoples' active struggle for peace, disarmament, and the prevention of nuclear war is producing concrete positive results as expressed, for instance, in the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This extraordinarily important step opens up broad new prospects for mankind on the road of progress in the sphere of achieving total nuclear disarmament. The reduction and elimination of offensive strategic arms is becoming a reality today.

All this has largely been made possible thanks to the historic decisions of the the 27th CPSU Congress, which defined the Soviet state's course toward restructuring of all spheres of its society's life and the new political thinking in international affairs.

The report says that the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan creates the necessary conditions for the achievement of national reconciliation in that country and a political settlement of the problems around it.

The PPS secretary general made a detailed analysis of the situation in the Near East. He welcomed the uprising of the Arab people of Palestine on the occupied Arab territories.

During the examination of organizational questions at the plenum, the importance of swelling the party's ranks, improving the political and ideological education of its members, and broadening party work among the masses was emphasized.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Ethiopia, Somalia Agree To Normalize Relations

#### Troops Withdrawn From Border

*LD261108 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Addis Ababa April 25 TASS—Ethiopia and Somalia have completed the withdrawal of their troops to 10-15 kilometres from the common border where a demilitarized zone will be set up.

An Ethiopian Foreign Ministry spokesman said here that the withdrawal of troops was a result of agreements on normalizing the relations between the two countries, reached on April 4, which also provided for the restoration of diplomatic relations, an exchange of war prisoners, the cessation of war propaganda and the elimination of the state of confrontation.

The withdrawal of troops is regarded as the first important step in the reconciliation process between the two countries which was started by a meeting in Djibouti of Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam and President Mohamed Siad Barre of Somalia in January 1986.

#### Commentary on Accord

*LD262213 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Excerpts] An official announcement was made in Addis Ababa about the withdrawal from the border—a distance of 10-15 km—by Ethiopian and Somali troops. This step has been taken in order to set up a demilitarized zone along the border between Ethiopia and Somalia, on which the sides agreed earlier. Over to Igor Surguchev, our commentator:

[Surguchev] The troop withdrawal is the first tangible result of the reconciliation process between Ethiopia and Somalia, which have been in a state of cold war for the last 10 years, ever since the armed conflict known as the Horn of Africa War ended. The abnormal nature of such a situation and its negative consequences prompted the two neighboring countries to reduce tension on the border and to reconcile. The OAU appealed to them to end their confrontation and to settle problems in a peaceful way. [passage omitted]

The withdrawal of troops from the border is evidence that the agreement is being implemented. Of course, so far only the first step has been taken. But there is, nevertheless, a basis for saying that common sense has seemingly prevailed. Having overcome a psychological heritage of a gloomy past and guided by fundamental national interests of their peoples and by the interests of peace and stability in the region, the Ethiopian and Somali Governments embarked on the policy of a peaceful settlement. To do this was not easy, taking into account the fact that foreign imperialist forces, which are attempting to interfere in any possible way with the revolutionary transformations in Ethiopia, have been and continue to count on blowing up the Ethiopian-Somali border dispute. Incidentally, this dispute as such has not yet been resolved, but the sides have displayed political wisdom and flexibility by deciding to first of all normalize relations and to return to the discussion about them later, in more favorable conditions. It is good that the Somali Government, which earlier insisted in the first place on meeting its territorial claims toward Ethiopia, agreed with this approach proposed by the Ethiopian leadership.

The reconciliation process which has begun is yet more evidence of the fact that the path of peaceful talks and sensible compromise represents the only productive way of tackling regional conflicts and disputes between states. It seems to me that this truth, which is still disregarded by some who are placing their stakes on crude force, is destined to become the basic law of international life.

### Power Minister Attends Ceremony in Ethiopia

*LD241332 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0701 GMT 24 Apr 88*

[Summary] Melka Wakana, 24 Apr (TASS)—Correspondent Sergey Petukhov reports that a power unit at a hydro-power station in Melka Wakana on Wabi Shebele River went on line in Bale Province. Last Saturday a ceremony was held there to commission it. President Mengistu Haile Mariam made a speech at the ceremony hailing "cooperation between the USSR, CSSR, and Ethiopia." During the ceremony, it was noted that over 5 years of cooperation Soviet experts had managed to train 2,500 Ethiopian experts in the construction of power stations. A.I. Mayorets, the USSR minister of power and electrification, and Bohumil Urban, the CSSR minister of foreign trade, were present.

## East Europe

### Celebrations Commemorate Polish Treaty Jubilee

*PM260929 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "On the Anniversary of the Soviet-Polish Treaty. Memorable Spring of 1945"]

[Text] Warsaw—April in Poland is called National Memorial Month. It was at this time, in the spring, that the country was completely liberated from Hitlerite

bondage and the front advanced to the very seat of fascism—Berlin—leaving in its wake charred remains, ruins, and graves from the Volga to the Oder. It was at this memorable time that the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Union and the People's Poland born from the flames of the struggle for liberation. As one of the main foreign policy legal acts of Poland's rebirth it reflected the radical breakthrough in relations between the two countries and peoples.

The memory of that period has become an organic part of Poland's postwar history and Poles' national memory. W. Jaruzelski spoke highly of it: "We have not forgotten the Red Army's act of liberation and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in reuniting Poland with its lands in the north and the west and its support for our position in the international arena. We have not forgotten the first difficult days of peace, Soviet grain shipments to the ravaged cities, the involvement in restoring our historic capital Warsaw to life, the technical expertise, and deliveries of machinery and equipment helping the great cause of industrialization. We will not forget the material aid and the true friendship during the misfortune of the recent extremely complex period."

It is profoundly symbolic that it was on precisely this day of 21 April—exactly 1 year ago—that M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski signed an important document in Moscow—the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture. The declaration was promulgated, as it points out, at a crucial period in history when, "guided by responsibility for the fate of socialism and by the principles of socialist internationalism, the CPSU and the PZPR are pooling their efforts in the cause of renewing our social system and imparting to it greater dynamism and receptiveness to everything progressive." "Today we are moving on," the declaration stressed, "to a new quality in Soviet-Polish relations and we are endeavoring to use the favorable political conditions for the further development of fraternal collaboration between the CPSU and the PZPR and the Soviet Union and Poland. The profound restructuring being implemented in the USSR and the line of socialist renewal being carried out in Poland are creating extremely favorable preconditions for this."

A new quality for Soviet-Polish relations? What does it consist of? Above all, of course, in overcoming the consequences of stagnation which, alas, has also manifested itself in this sphere. It seems that the authors of certain cooperation programs were more concerned in their compilation with rash promises and show than a truly businesslike study and well-substantiated foundations. They expected programs to have a propaganda effect rather than material return. They tried to do new things using old, arbitrary methods. Enterprises were selected by central departments. First an agreement was signed and only then were the principles by which the joint enterprises were to be set up amplified and analyses, estimates, and so forth tackled. Then specialists would come to the bitter conclusion that a considerable number of the projects put forward were unpromising.

Out of 12 Soviet-Polish joint enterprises which should have been set up under the program adopted in 1986, our assets include only one—Poland is represented by the "Pollena-Miraculum" Perfume Factory in Krakow. But, as a Polish newspaper noted, this failure should be assessed optimistically because it teaches us a great deal and lessons can be drawn from it.

Soviet-Polish cooperation has hitherto been mainly implemented at the central directive level and by means of international agreements between the appropriate ministries and departments. This method of cooperation is not fully consonant with the behest of the times. The Polish press points out that if, in compliance with our countries' so-called radical economic reforms, we have stated that the independent enterprise is the main figure in our economic activity, that is how it should be. Every condition must be created for enterprises to establish contacts in accordance with their own production interests without pressure or coercion from above and, moreover, without any bureaucratic barriers. People in Poland stress that governments and ministries must not stand between enterprises, act as mediators, or try to dictate anything to them.

During the recent talks in Moscow between the heads of the USSR and Polish Governments, stress was also laid on restructuring methods of economic and scientific and technical cooperation and a new quality for this cooperation. The great work of creating a new concept for cooperation for the next 15-20 years has begun. It is based on genuine mutual advantage derived from making the best use of the potential of our countries' economies.

That this potential can be used skillfully and rationally is borne out by the examples—and there are many of them—of successful cooperation. For instance, cooperation between the Voronezh Aviation Production Association and the Polish Aviation Plant at Mielce. We were told by the plant's general director, T. Ryczaj, that the two enterprises were linked by quite concrete production interests. The advantage is mutual. The Voronezh aviation giant, renowned for its technical achievements, has also helped to boost the level of scientific and technical progress at the Mielce plant, which produces major components and assemblies for the Il-86 and the Il-96 aircraft for Voronezh. Cooperation between them is constantly strengthening and improving. Both related enterprises are connected by common business and this also shows the new kind of relations. Equally close collaboration has been established between the industrial institute of construction machinery in Kobylka near Warsaw and the main heavy crane specialized design and technology bureau in Odessa.

Contacts between many of the two countries' research institutes have become quite extensive. They are working together on implementing 153 important problems of practical importance for our economies. Special attention is being devoted to cooperation in the sphere of electronics, biotechnology, and agriculture. It is a question not only of exchanging scientific and technical information but also of joint projects and developments and the preparation of experimental models, new machinery, instruments, and technologies and their subsequent introduction into production.

The Joint Commission of Scientists on the History of Relations Between the Two Countries is working more intensively than before. Their task is to help to erase the so-called "blank spots," to restore historical truth, to remove omissions and suppressed figures, and to successfully carry out archive research. Problems are being studied comprehensively without schematic and dogmatic approaches to them and without stereotypes. The work of clearing away barriers on the historical path is not so simple as it may appear at first glance. Western propaganda and the opponents of socialism are gambling on a blatantly anti-Soviet interpretation of facts and events which would poison the atmosphere of friendship and cooperation between our peoples. Their logic is primitive to the point of impudence: Let the Soviet Union admit that it is guilty of everything in the past and then everything will be fine. All the indications are that they will be greatly disappointed.

Quests for the best forms of Soviet-Polish cooperation are now under way in many areas. The Warsaw Public Opinion Research Center recently held a poll to find out what Poles think about restructuring in the USSR and cooperation with their eastern neighbor. Most people replied that they approve of restructuring and are in favor of closer collaboration wth the Soviet Union.

## Polish Journalist on Treaty

*PM261131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Article by Jozef Barecki, chief editor of the Polish journal NOWE DROGI, under the rubric "A Foreign Publicist Speaks": "Time Has Confirmed"—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The Soviet and Polish peoples are marking the 43d anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Poland.

A Polish publicist—the chief editor of the journal NOWE DROGI—reflects on the significance of this treaty:

Warsaw, April—We are celebrating one more anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Poland and the Soviet Union. It invariably prompts people in my country to reflect on its significance in Polish-Soviet relations.

The idea of an alliance stems from the two peoples' desires for liberation and fraternity, starting in the 19th century. The outstanding democrats of Poland and Russia were its heralds. The Decembrists confirmed it with their lives, the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz spoke of it in his poem "To Russian Friends," and Ludwik Warynski, founder of the Great "Proletariat" Party and inmate of Shlisselburg Fortress, devoted himself to it. The universal conviction reigned, as Joachim Lelewel wrote to Aleksandr Gertsen, that Poland would be unable to rise up by relying only on its own forces and its own considerations of a national order. Only a revolution could create an opportune moment for that.

The reality of the 20th century confirmed that conviction. The possibility of establishing strong friendly relations between the Polish and the Russian peoples emerged at the time of the overthrow of tsarist autocracy and the victory of the October Revolution. Even during his young years V.I. Lenin had said that Poland's freedom was impossible without Russia's freedom, and later, this time as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, he signed the decree annulling the partitions carried out by tsarism.

Why, then, was that historic opportunity not taken? To make the possible real, goodwill was needed on both sides. The Polish side, above all, lacked it. Representatives of the propertied classes, which were dominated by tendencies to restore rule over the Ukrainian and Lithuanian lands and by the desire to regain their lost estates, had acceded to power in Poland. Polish soldiers were sent to fight against the young Soviet Republic, in the name of interests alien to them. The Soviet power did not want that war and sought the peaceful development of relations with the government of reborn Poland. What tremendous emotion and goodwill imbued the words which Lenin spoke 1 March 1920, when Polish troops had already reached the Berezina and Zbruch Rivers: "We know that the greatest crime was the fact that Poland was partitioned between German, Austrian, and Russian capitals and that that partition condemned the Polish people to long years of oppression, when use of the mother tongue was considered a crime and the entire Polish people were brought up with the single thought of freeing themselves from that triple yoke. Therefore, we understand the hatred which permeates the Poles' soul, and we say to them that we will never cross the border on which our troops now stand—and they stand much further back than the Polish population lives. We offer peace on this basis, because we know that this will be a tremendous acquisition for Poland. We do not want war over a territorial border, because we want to exorcise the accursed past, when every Great Russian was considered an oppressor."

The Polish Government did not accept that offer and started a war.

It was an ill-starred, needless war. It left a somber imprint on Polish-Soviet relations.

To be fair, it should be said that, despite anti-Soviet prejudices, Poland was a state in East Europe which did not yield to fascist Germany's attempts to coax it into joint action against the Soviet Union, and there were no "volunteers" in the occupied country who would have responded to the Germans' attempts to form collaborationist units to struggle against the Soviet state.

Poles perceived with bitterness the false definition which the Soviet Union gave at the time of the defensive and just war which Poland was waging against the Hitlerite occupiers, as well as the phraseology of Molotov, who declared at the time that the Polish state had ceased to exist.

Another opportunity to normalize Polish-Soviet relations emerged in 1941. Despite the accumulated prejudices and the faits accomplis, both sides managed to revise their former assessments and extend hands toward cooperation. Hitlerite Germany's attack on the Soviet Union was the catalyst for that change.

On 30 July 1941 the Polish Government concluded with the Soviet Government an agreement on joint struggle against Hitlerite Germany. The significance of the fundamental shift in mutual relations is characterized most eloquently by the statements which the two states' leaders made at the time of General W. Sikorski's visit to Moscow in December 1941.

Stalin said that the Soviet Union was interested in creating a strong, free, and independent Poland. He pointed out that consent to the border between Poland and the Soviet Union on ethnic grounds and also the participation of Polish servicemen in fighting on the Eastern Front would create a favorable new climate for forming a strong Poland. Then, for the first time, Stalin declared what he later consistently upheld in Yalta and Potsdam: Poland must get the lands which have always been Polish, and its border in the west must follow the Odra-Nysa Luzycka line.

Unfortunately, that opportunity was not taken either. Forces opposed to cooperation and joint struggle with the Soviet Union against German fascism gained the upper hand in Sikorski's entourage. The Polish formations created on Soviet territory were removed to the Near East and, after Sikorski's tragic and still unexplained death, the Polish emigre government returned once again to the theory of "two enemies"—which created new tension in relations.

Only Polish patriots representing left-wing public forces—communists, socialists, Peasant Party figures, and democrats united around the program of the Polish Workers Party—were able to bring about a sharp shift in those relations.

For the first time in history the April treaty created strong political and legislative-legal preconditions for establishing relations between Poland and the Soviet Union on good-neighborly principles. Its conclusion was mutually useful. For the USSR the treaty signified a change in the situation fraught with dangerous conflicts on its western border—a change in the direction of friendly cooperation. For Poland it signified genuine independence and security, assistance, and cooperation. This alliance also played an important role in shaping the new territorial and political realities in postwar Europe and became a mainstay of its peaceful order.

We celebrate this anniversary, conscious of the advantages resulting from realizing the treaty and, at the same time, of the still unutilized potential for expanding cooperation and deepening mutual friendship.

Convincing evidence of this is provided by the Declaration on Cooperation in the Spheres of Ideology, Science, and Culture signed by M.S. Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski in Moscow 21 April last year—the 42d anniversary of the April treaty.

The declaration opened a new stage in the relations between our countries, supplementing the existing solid foundation of this cooperation with new and unusually important elements. In his speech at the Kremlin ceremony marking the signing of this document M.S. Gorbachev pointed out: "I can say with good reason that another big step has been taken in building an integral system of cooperation between our countries founded on equitable relations between real partners and embracing all spheres of social activity... What, in our opinion, is necessary above all? I will put it like this: It is necessary to bring ideological cooperation closer to life and link it more closely to the practice of socialist renewal. To involve broad sections of the population in cultural ties, remove barriers to mass contacts, and, in other words, democratize this sphere."

The program boldly outlined in the declaration opened up broad scope for scientists, cultural figures, and journalists in both countries. The new opportunities outlined in it are based on glasnost and openness—essential assets for the free development of all creativity. Citizens of Poland and the USSR have already felt the effect of this.

The sphere of mutual information about life in both countries has expanded considerably. Television, radio, the press, movies, and books today provide far more information about what is happening in various spheres of life, what we are doing and want to do, and the problems we are encountering. True, we always wrote

about this throughout the postwar period, but that information had a different style and concentrated only on certain aspects of reality. We have abandoned—and there are grounds for believing that we have done so forever—the manner of painting showy, varnished pictures devoid of half tints, and we have abandoned formalism and exaggerated protocol. Today we show life in all its manifestations.

We know and note with satisfaction that people in the Soviet Union are also writing and speaking about our problems more widely, more fully, and with great understanding. The breaking of propaganda stereotypes contributes to the free exchange of information, which is particularly necessary in the period of the all-around renewal of the mechanisms of political, economic, and cultural life.

Those sections of the declaration which speak of the need to make a joint study of our peoples' history and eliminate the so-called "blank spots" in it were received with tremendous interest and hope.

The declaration has resulted in the work of the Polish and Soviet historians' joint commission, whose tasks include the thorough study of difficult, painful, and formerly hushed-up problems of our common history. The reports already published on the commission's work and the articles and statements show what crucial and complex tasks it has to resolve. It was absolutely essential to pose these tasks to make the foundations of Polish-Soviet friendship still stronger. Truthful coverage of events important to our peoples makes it possible to dispel doubts and mistrust. The revelation of the hard and sometimes brutal truth narrows the field of anti-Soviet and anti-Polish propaganda and knocks arguments out of the hands of enemies.

We reflect on the past for the sake of the future. Wojciech Jaruzelski wrote in his article on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, published in the pages of the journal KOMMUNIST (July 1987):

"In ideological educational work we want together to eliminate what has divided us in history and return to what united our peoples in the past and links them today. We are stepping up concern for our common heritage, have considerably expanded exchanges of cultural assets, and are implementing joint measures in the social sciences sphere. The most important thing is to look ahead, to the future, and open wide all doors for the mutual rapprochement of our peoples, particularly the young generation, by strengthening bonds of unbreakable friendship."

The idea of Polish-Soviet friendship grew out of the two peoples' historical experience, has stood the test of time, and is constantly being renewed. What divided us is vanishing into the past, and what links us is becoming increasingly strong. The friendship developing on this basis is marked by a most noble feature devoid of opportunism and is of the highest quality.

## CPSU Delegation Warsaw Activities Reported

*PM271055 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Apr 88 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Parties' Cooperation"

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Apr—A CPSU delegation led by A.I. Berezin, CPSU Central Committee member and Mordovian CPSU Obkom first secretary, was in Poland 18-22 April this year at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee.

The delegation members were interested in the development of cooperation between local organs and organizations of the CPSU and the PZPR. Conversations took place with A. Czyz, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, and S. Gabrielski, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Political and Organizational Department, and meetings took place with representatives of party organizations in Lodz and Bielsk Podlazki Voivodships.

J. Baryla, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, received the delegation. He informed them of the current problems of party work in the process of reforming the economy and democratizing sociopolitical life in Poland. During the meeting the need to further deepen regional interparty cooperation and make it more businesslike and effective was also discussed.

## PZPR Aide Cited on Bilateral Youth Relations

*PM270913 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 p 3*

["Topical Interview" with Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, by M. Botyan in Warsaw: "A Time for Young People"; date not given]

[Text] [Botyan] A year has passed since signing the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture. It is too soon to talk about any great achievements. But the first year is already the first step. How was it, in your view?

[Glowczyk] Now our traditionally fraternal relations are filled with a new content flowing from the demands of restructuring in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland and based on the decisions of the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses and the 27th CPSU Congress. The declaration signed a year ago is an important factor in establishing a new kind of relations between our countries. Its provisions are innovative and businesslike; they could be described as restructuring the concept and forms of cooperation between our parties and peoples.

Signs of this restructuring have emerged in the cooperation among all Polish voivodships and the corresponding oblasts in the USSR, in the activity of groups researching various social, economic, and political problems in both countries, and in the work of the mass media.

The Polish public has had the opportunity to become acquainted with new Soviet drama and movies, and also with the latest literary works. A year ago the people of Warsaw had the opportunity to watch Soviet television's first program; soon it will also be accessible in other regions in our country.

[Botyan] A prominent place in the declaration is devoted to the development of cooperation between Soviet and Polish youth...

[Glowczyk] We attach great importance to relations among young people, although as before there are many problems in this sphere which need to be resolved and reserves which must be utilized. It is clear that ties between our countries' youth organizations are being strengthened, and thanks to a broad exchange, personal contacts between Soviet and Polish boys and girls are deepening. But, I repeat, new initiatives are needed. I believe the youth press must pay more attention to searching for and implementing them by proposing new forms, propagandizing good experience, and sponsoring promising undertakings.

[Botyan] When meeting with Polish youth one is convinced of the great interest in the processes taking place in our country. Soviet youth is watching the progress of restructuring in Poland very attentively. What, in your view, should be done to deepen this mutual interest?

[Glowczyk] You are right, Poles' interest in the Soviet Union is enormous. I recall that at the end of last year the first edition of M.S. Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for the Country and the Entire World" was sold out in our country within 2 days. In Poland not one foreign politician has been the recipient of such great trust as M.S. Gorbachev has.

For relations to develop successfully between peoples a profound knowledge of each other's history is very important. The history of our countries is closely interwoven. There have been several complex periods in it, but many more examples of genuine fraternity can be cited. We need to boldly tell young people the whole truth. For this reason we value the frankness with which the Soviet media, cinema, and theater are discussing difficult problems connected with the present transformations in the USSR. The Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation once again stresses that it is essential to research more profoundly those questions which until now have been interpreted in a superficial, incomplete, or oversimplified way, and also to extract from archives the multitude of remarkable instances of cooperation between our peoples which are often unknown to the public.

[Botyan] The demands of the time dictate the necessity to fill the very concept of "internationalism" with more weighty and specific content. How?

[Glowczyk] Today the processes of restructuring and socialist renewal give it a new content and enrich it with new perspectives. The most important of them concern specific cooperation.

I believe that science, technology, and economics must, along with the new thinking, become the base of the common platform uniting us on the path to the future. Over several years the notion has been growing in both countries that we are not using to the full the opportunities created by the economic, scientific, and technical potentials of the Soviet Union and Poland. We are seeing the shoots of our new interrelations—joint enterprises and direct ties between plants and factories. But the growth of the new is still occurring too slowly.

In conclusion I would like to wish KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers and all Soviet youth as well as my own young compatriots greater initiative and boldness in the struggle against conservatism, greater initiative and consistency in the enterprises undertaken, and greater responsibility for their work. Restructuring in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland—this is, above all, a time for young people.

### Further on Press Agency Agreement With Poland

*PM261453 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"

[Text] A program of cooperation between the Soviet NOVOSTI Press Agency and the Polish INTERPRESS Agency for 1988-1995 was signed in Moscow 21 April.

The Polish delegation headed by J. Glowczyk, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, which is in Moscow in connection with the 43d anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Poland and the USSR, was present at the signing of the document.

The provisions of the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Spheres of Ideology, Science, and Culture signed a year ago, which assert in practice the principles of the new political thinking in international relations, are determining factors in the fraternal agencies' agreement.

### Grosz Speaks at Dinner Held for Ryzhkov

*LD181916 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 18 Apr 88*

[Text] Budapest April 18 TASS—"We rate sincere friendship and equitable mutually beneficial cooperation with the Soviet Union, which fits organically into our

notions of the future, among the greatest and historic in their significance achievements of our policy", Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, said today. He spoke at a dinner given by him in the parliament building in honour of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, now on a visit here.

Our commercial, economic and scientific-technical ties are of fundamental importance, Karoly Grosz went on. We put special emphasis on a balanced development of trade turnover and payments relations between the two countries, on the efforts continually to upgrade cooperation, raise the integration ratio among enterprises.

Recalling that the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party is under preparations for its conference, Karoly Grosz said: "We face the adoption of decisions that determine the future of the country". "We are in a difficult situation, our tasks are complex. It is essential to update and lend dynamism to the economy that has slowed down in its advancement. By gradually shrinking the burden of the public debt, that has accumulated over a dozen and a half years, we will need to cope with strain and contradictions in economic and social life. And still we remain optimists with regard to the future since our socialist system has reliable foundations".

Ensuring an outside and internal balance, creating a modern structure, renovating output at a faster pace, gradually making exports dynamic, raising tangibly worker productivity, upgrading production assets, a higher-level application of knowledge and creative intellectual labour in production are the real way which we should follow, stressed the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary.

The renovation processes launched in the Soviet Union create auspicious external conditions for carrying through our challenging national objectives, he said. Our party and the people follow with particular attention and support perestroyka (drive for restructuring) which over a short time has become a notion of world political importance, which epitomizes the renovation of socialism and also general social progress.

Noting that people in Hungary praise and unanimously support the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives aimed at promoting peace and security, arms reduction and disarmament, he stressed that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an historic agreement that builds up international confidence and stimulates a further development of the disarmament processes. We deem it inadmissable that at the time when disarmament is carried out in some areas, a new arms race is launched in others.

Our country, in line with the aspirations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, conducts persistently and with a sense of responsibility its international activity in the name of putting into practice the principles of peaceful co-existence, the development of the East-West dialogue and cooperation. Hungary intends to participate ever more vigorously in the future as well in elaborating international initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, using its own potentialities and means in the process of their implementation, Karoly Grosz concluded.

## Currency Exchange Facility Helps CSSR Trade

*PM271035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Own correspondent Stanislav Vtorushin dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "For the First Time..."]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union recently signed an agreement on the use of national currencies to serve direct ties and other new forms of cooperation between the two countries' associations, enterprises, and organizations. This is the first document of this kind to be concluded between CEMA states. Today such transactions are already being carried out in both countries. What does this fact mean?

As is known, the transfer ruble is used in foreign economic ties between CEMA countries. Transfer rubles are neither bank notes nor "hard cash." They can accumulate in the CEMA countries' bank accounts and be used to pay for goods and services, reciprocal supplies of which are envisaged in corresponding interstate agreements.

For all the convenience of this system of transactions, it also has certain shortcomings which manifest themselves particularly clearly when arranging cooperation at the level of basic economic units. The introduction of national currencies into transactions is aimed at overcoming to a certain extent the difficulties that arise in direct cooperation.

If, for example, a Soviet enterprise which has a contract for direct cooperation with a partner in the CSSR and supplies its products to Czechoslovakia needed to acquire something from that country, in the past it could do so only if it had transfer rubles in its account. True, there was another way—to ask the ministry to allocate the necessary currency. But we have comparatively few enterprises that have transfer rubles. Ministries, as a rule, possess limited currency means, the majority of which is spent on a "targeted purpose."

The agreement on the use of national currencies in mutual transactions has opened up new opportunities before collectives which have established direct ties. Now, for a Soviet enterprise to purchase Czechoslovak equipment or vice versa, it is not obligatory to have transfer rubles. For this it is necessary only to apply to the appropriate foreign trade bank and ask for earned rubles to be exchanged for korunas or vice versa.

An important condition of the agreement is that partner enterprises are not obliged to keep to an equivalent in mutual transactions. Questions of balance may be resolved at interstate level.

"The agreement on the use of national currencies," CSSR Finance Minister Jaromir Zak said, "creates far more favorable conditions for equalizing the mutual obligations stemming from cooperation contracts within the framework of direct ties. Together with the Soviet side, we regard their development, as well as the creation of joint enterprises and other forms of economic, scientific, and technical interaction, as the cornerstone of cooperation today and in the future. For its traditional forms based on intersector exchange have already exhausted themselves. Free access for enterprises and organizations to the partner's national currency creates a condition for lending dynamism to our cooperation."

### Silayev Meets With Ceausescu in Bucharest

*PM270739 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Meeting in Bucharest"

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Apr—N. Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of Romania, received on 25 April I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who was here on a working visit at the invitation of the Romanian leadership.

During the conversation, in which USSR Minister of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building V.M. Velichko participated, there was an examination of the prospects of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Romania in the machine building sphere. There was a discussion of questions of expanding and deepening production specialization and production sharing.

There were talks with Romanian Deputy Prime Ministers I. Constantinescu and S. Andrei and with Romanian State Planning Committee Chairman S. Birlea.

### SFRY's Mamula on Security, Democratization

*PM261123 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Address to Students"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr—Fleet Admiral B. Mamula, SFRY federal secretary for national defense, has addressed students at the LCY's political school in Kumrovec. The Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, he stressed, is having a positive influence on improving world relations. The conviction now prevails that it is impossible to wage war by applying the strategies formulated at the beginning of the 1970's and to emerge victorious from it without risking self-annihilation.

Speaking on certain aspects of the international situation and its influence on Yugoslavia's domestic political situation, B. Mamula noted that foreign assessments of the SFRY's defense capabilities are tied up primarily with the difficulties in its economic and general development, and particularly with facts related to the absence of unity in many spheres of society's life. All this requires the urgent solution of the existing problems, above all the adoption of measures to accelerate economic development, which is an essential condition of the strengthening of the country's security. This is also important because Yugoslavia's fundamental gains, such of its foundations as socialist self-management, the fraternity, unity, and national equality of all peoples and nationalities, and the federal setup, are being increasingly targeted by internal and external enemies.

As for the question of democratization within the Armed Forces, the federal secretary noted that the Yugoslav People's Army is a part of society, and the democratization of relations within it are conditioned by the degree of development of self-management as a whole. In recent years, he said, a number of measures have been taken to improve the training and educational process among its command personnel and the work with young people, and to develop a spirit of comradeship and trust. Much is being done to improve relations in army collectives. But it should be said that the process of democratic decisions in the military organization is limited only to those questions which do not threaten the principle of single command.

The level reached in building the Yugoslav Armed Forces, B. Mamula stated, ensures all the important conditions for maintaining the high combat readiness of the Yugoslav People's Army.

## West Europe

### Karpov Consults With Portuguese Leaders

*LD270954 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 27 Apr 88*

[Text] Lisbon April 27 TASS—Consultations were held here in the Portuguese Foreign Ministry on Tuesday by ambassador at large Viktor Karpov, head of the Directorate for Arms Limitation and Disarmament Issues of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Taking part in the consultations from the Portuguese side were Dorao Barroso, secretary of state for international relations and cooperation, Jose Cutileiro, general director of the Foreign Ministry's politico-economic department, and other officials.

There was a detailed exchange of views on disarmament issues with particular emphasis on the state of affairs in this field in Europe.

The Soviet representatives also had a brief talk with Portuguese President Mario Soares, informing him of the meetings in Moscow between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

In this context the president of Portugal expressed hope that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting would be successful.

### Comments on U.S. Arms Treaty

*LD270956 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Lisbon, Apr 26 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union expects to conclude an agreement on strategic arms with the next U.S. Administration—high Soviet official Viktor Karpov stated here today.

At this time, Karpov told a news conference, it is very difficult to foresee things, but we think it will not be a disaster if we do not sign this agreement at the upcoming summit in Moscow, for we shall gain more time for preparations and finally sign it with the next U.S. Administration.

Karpov, who heads the Soviet Foreign Ministry Department for Disarmament, arrived in Lisbon on a two-day visit for exchanges of views with Portuguese officials. Today he conferred with Portuguese state secretary for foreign affairs Durao Barroso. Tomorrow, Karpov is leaving for Madrid to meet Spanish officials.

Karpov said the problems included: American failure to abide by accords to respect the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and, the absence of a treaty to limit the cruising missiles launched from sea or air.

### Mikhaylov Assesses French Presidential Voting

*LD261036 Moscow in French to France and Belgium 1700 GMT 25 Apr 88*

[Text] Dear listeners, the results of the first round of the French presidential elections put the current President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in the lead. The results of the ballot reveal a certain change in the country's political landscape, writes our observer Vsevolod Mikhaylov. This has been demonstrated above all by the serious decline of the candidates of the right, Jacques Chirac and Raymond Barre, who did not fulfill the voting intentions promised by the recent public opinion surveys. On the other hand, the Socialist president got almost as many votes in total as the two right-wing candidates put together. For the right, this is the worst result since 1958, the year the Fifth Republic was set up.

At the same time, the elections have revealed a dangerous trend toward a consolidation of the extreme-right National Front. By unscrupulously exploiting the exacerbation of racial hatred toward immigrant workers, and by speculating on the real and serious anxieties of the French man in the street over rising unemployment and crime, the extreme-right candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen obtained almost 15 percent of the votes. Now that Le Pen only needs 5 or 6 percent to catch up with Jacques Chirac, the traditional right-wing's dependence on the goodwill of the National Front leader in the second round becomes more and more obvious.

Whatever is said at the headquarters of the Rally for the Republic and the Union for French Democracy about the rise of the extreme-right, which is now hot on their heels, this situation follows from the traditional social and economic policy of the right, which has manifested itself through a rise in unemployment, the appearance of the new poor, and the practical encouragement of the propaganda of racial hatred.

On the other hand, the results of the elections testify to the relative stability of the left-wing electorate: the score of Francois Mitterrand, Andre Lajoinie, and other left-wing and ecology candidates being approximately at the same level as that achieved by the left during the previous presidential elections. Although the Communist candidate lost seven points compared with 1981, the real influence of the Communist Party exceeds the results obtained on Sunday set against the backdrop of the general balance in favor of the left, Andre Lajoinie considers.

By giving more than 34 percent of the votes to Francois Mitterrand, the ballot reaffirmed that he is the best-placed candidate: Although his standpoints on the major social and economic issues are not all that different from those of Jacques Chirac and Raymond Barre, and although like them he advocates keeping the policy of austerity, Francois Mitterrand has during his mandate blocked the most odious actions of the right-wing majority aimed at granting the most privileged sections limitless facilities and prerogatives. Francois Mitterrand favors certain social measures, in particular setting a minimum wage for the new poor, restoring the wealth tax, and putting a brake on the process of denationalization. The Socialist candidate adopts a more flexible position than the right on the issues of war and peace. The consensus that has in fact been established between the Socialists and the right on a rejection of nuclear disarmament for France does not prevent Francois Mitterrand—unlike the right which adopts a hardline position on the issues of disarmament and terms the INF agreement a threat to Europe—from advocating general, parallel, and controlled disarmament. He supports unreservedly the INF agreement, rejects France's participation in the U.S. Star Wars project, and opposes the urgent modernization of French short-range nuclear missiles.

And everything leads one to believe that these shades of meaning also had an influence on the balance of voting in favor of the Socialist candidate. The 2 weeks that remain before the second round may abound in all sorts of political combinations: No one now risks predicting the final result of the race to the presidency.

## 'German Question' Remains Central Topic

*PM271003 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4*

[V. Mikhaylov article: "Dangerous Archaism. The 'German Question' and the New Thinking"]

[Text] It has been the custom in West German postwar history: The sun only has to emerge on the European or the world horizon and immediately dark forces appear, ready to do anything to prevent an improvement in the political climate. Of course, the FRG does not have a monopoly on what it calls "yesterday men." We know that certain countries even send cruisers to foreign shores, allegedly "for innocent passage." But the "German question" has been a sticking point in the FRG in the way of mutual understanding for almost 40 years.

Everything Is In a State of Flux... [subhead]

"Everything is in a state of flux, everything changes." "We have had to relinquish many illusions over the last 40 years," well-known journalist Marion Denhof writes in DIE ZEIT weekly. "Starting with the idea that the German Reich still exists and the claim that we alone represent it. We have acknowledged the existence of another German state. We have now finally come far enough for the chancellor, the chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, to commission the drafting of a concept which must be based on realities." M. Denhof's analytical article is entitled: "Our Aim Is Not 'Reunification' But East-West Rapprochement. One Roof for All of Europe."

Such discredited theses as "the reunification of Germany" have begun to be replaced in official statements by more modernized ones—"overcoming the division," "uniting the nation." The thesis that "reunification" is not far off, indeed is imminent—a permanent irritant and a stimulus to nationalism—has begun to give way to sober arguments about the "unattainability of a solution to the German question at present" and the view that the primary task is the "elimination of East-West conflict."

Some people have seen all these innovations as the run-in to a fundamental change, while others have seen them only as a modification of the old claims and an attempt to keep them afloat in the modern, changing world. But here is the remarkable point: The "yesterday men" have reacted with relative restraint to these innovations, in contrast to their former attitude. For the time being. As soon as the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed, beginning the first real step toward nuclear disarmament, calls were immediately heard on the extreme right flank of FRG society for a "German policy offensive."

The inveterate custodians of the Kaiser's motto "Might Above Right" and professional revanchists from the "Union of Exiles" saw the treaty as the final decision nullifying the old ideas of "annexing" the GDR and "shifting" the German borders by relying on Western military might. So the present outbreak of ballyhoo among these potential disrupters of Europe's postwar system has highlighted the intrinsic nature of all these concepts about the "open" German question and acted as a reminder of their aggressiveness and hostility to peaceful development.

"Differentiation" and Its Levers [subhead]

In the foreign policy sphere, these concepts maintain a political climate in the FRG which justifies interference in the affairs of other states and the export of counterrevolution. The right-wing conservative DIE WELT points out that talk of reunification means talk of the downfall of Communism. Thus it interprets, unabashed, the euphonious official directive for "unity in conditions of freedom." The latter is, of course, only conceivable under capitalism. Hence, state and public organizations' inclination to do their utmost to undermine socialism. Certain Western circles are now alarmed by the fact that the "enemy image" is—as a result of the socialist countries' active foreign policy—beginning to be eroded. So they are trying to exacerbate from without particular difficulties in the GDR's development, to provoke demonstrations, and to "play" on national problems.

The tendency for the "German question" to dominate FRG foreign policy is also cultivated by the strategy of a "differentiated approach" to individual socialist countries. This strategy aims to weaken their mutual ties, set them against the Soviet Union, and make them more tractable. This is becoming especially marked inasmuch as economic levers are being put to use. This was demonstrated with the utmost cynicism in the example of Poland during the preparation and implementation of the price reform. Poland was, on the one hand, urged to implement reform because Western readiness to develop economic relations was made dependent on it. Yet when the reform was initiated they began using radio voices and their secret services to provoke an outburst of dissatisfaction in the country.

During the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh and in the Baltic region, we were personally acquainted with the inflammatory activity of various radio voices, notably official voices, which included the particularly zealous Deutsche Welle. It is, of course, ludicrous to suppose that such methods can lead the Soviet Union astray from the course of restructuring, stop development in other countries of socialism, and undermine cooperation and solidarity among them. Especially now, when socialism

is increasing in dynamism. But in East-West relations, such negative trends jeopardize the processes of normalizing international life and the cause of disarmament.

What has the FRG itself gained from almost 40 years of cultivating the "German question"? Nothing positive. It certainly cannot count on the credit side the first 20 years of self-isolation from the socialist states and the transformation of the country into the region with the highest concentration of foreign troops and weapons not just in Europe but in the whole world. Why is the FRG to this day still continually taking the "German question" out of mothballs, imagining that the key to the matter "lies in the Kremlin" and that the latter is the "main culprit in the division"? This West German phenomenon continues to exist above all because the true course of events leading to the creation of two German states has been covered up in the lifetime of the second generation of West Germans.

Shortage of Truth [subhead]

These events do, of course, deserve special examination but, to be brief, they are essentially as follows. Beginning with the second meeting of the "Big Three"—the leaders of the USSR, the United States, and Britain—in Tehran in December 1943, two of them—Roosevelt and Churchill—advocated partitioning Germany. The former wanted five "independent states." The latter wanted two—Prussia, and a southern federation "from the Saarland to Saxony," while the third proposed putting the Ruhr and the Saarland under international control. At the Crimean conference 3 months before the end of the war in Europe, Roosevelt once again stated that he saw "no other way than partition." It was only a question of "into how many parts." Churchill agreed, but said that "there is no need to inform the Germans" about this... A special commission in London was told to prepare a "detailed plan for partitioning Germany." It began work under the chairmanship of British Foreign Secretary Eden. But the talks were rendered pointless by the Soviet Union's refusal in a letter to Eden to regard the plans for partitioning Germany as binding and later by its statement on VE-Day that the USSR "has no intention of partitioning or destroying Germany."

However, Roosevelt's words at the Crimea conference—"the zones (of occupation—V.M.) will, perhaps, be the first step toward partitioning Germany"—turned out to be no chance turn of phrase. Division was the long-term aim of the United States and Britain. In time, France too supported this. There were also forces and figures in western Germany itself who set about creating a separate state, unable to resist the temptation of trying "with all of the West" to "displace Communism" and, maybe, "replay" the results of the war. The failure of these plans is well known. But the partition was effected with Germanic thoroughness. The theses regarding the desire for reunification and the "open" German question were set in motion to distract attention from its schismatic nature and drive West Germans into the "cold war" trenches.

The archaism and the danger of these theses born of the spirit of military-political confrontation are now particularly evident. They are incompatible with the new thinking and with its priorities of peace and international cooperation.

Political realities are important now. There are two German states with different sociopolitical systems. This is how things must remain in the interests of ensuring stability and building a common European home, which must be based solely on social choice made by the peoples themselves. The GDR and the FRG have their own values and their own paths of development, and each of the two states can make its own contribution to the cause of Europe and peace. History will decide what happens in 100 years' time. Any other approach is unacceptable. If anyone acts differently, the consequences will be very serious. This must be absolutely clear.

It is impossible to effect a radical change in modern international relations and rid them of old military-strategic ideas of security without Europe's independent contribution. It has the richest historical experience and the greatest economic and intellectual potential. But this role is inconceivable for Europe without the FRG and an improvement in its relations with the Soviet Union. However, the ballast of the past must be definitively jettisoned in order to be equal to the tasks capable of ensuring a durable peace and prosperity for the peoples.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Continuing U.S. Embargo on Nicaragua Viewed

*LD261517 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

The U.S. Administration has extended the economic embargo against Nicaragua. In a statement sent to Congress President Reagan maintained that "the actions and policies of the Government of Nicaragua continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States".

The economic sanctions which were imposed in May 1985 envisage a ban on the import of any Nicaraguan goods into the United States and on the delivery of U.S. commodities to Nicaragua. Nicaraguan airliners and vessels are denied access to the United States. The overall damage caused to Nicaragua over the three years the embargo has been in effect is reckoned in hundreds of millions of dollars.

Noteworthy is the fact that the decision to extend the embargo was taken at the time of talks between representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and contra leaders, the selfsame direct talks which Washington had insisted upon as one of the main conditions for resumption of the U.S.-Nicaraguan dialogue in Manzanillo.

Now that the Guatemala agreements by the presidents of five Central American states on a political settlement of the situation in the region are being implemented and an accord on a temporary ceasefire in Nicaragua has been achieved, which became possible due to the flexible policy of the Sandinist government, the U.S. Administration pretends that everything remains unchanged. Washington does not want either to abandon the economic blockade of Nicaragua or resume normal contacts to discuss the existing problems.

It is believed in Soviet diplomatic circles that such a policy in no way promotes a successful development of the peace process in Central America. A frustration of the process is fraught with a continuation of fratricidal war in Nicaragua, with growing distrust and suspiciousness between Central American countries, and with a new aggravation of the situation in the region.

### U.S. Step 'Act of War'

*LD270758 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 27 Apr 88*

["'Act of War' Against Nicaragua"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS political news analyst Nikolay Chigir:

The U.S. President has prolonged the duration of the law on emergency economic powers against Nicaragua, which was adopted on May 1, 1985, and on whose strength the USA clamped down a trade and economic blockade on that country. Three years ago the U.S. chief executive banned by his decision, which the California-based newspaper "TRIBUNE" described as an "act of war", both the export of U.S.-made goods to Nicaragua and the import of Nicaraguan commodities into the USA as well as direct air and sea communication with Nicaragua. As was in the past, President Reagan is trying to substantiate that decision at least in a way, by claiming that the Nicaraguan Government's policy and actions constitute an unparalleled and extraordinary "threat" to the national security and foreign policy of the USA.

The absurdity of this claim is obvious, which was repeatedly noted by the U.S. press itself. Indeed what sort of a threat can be to the most powerful capitalist nation a country with a population which is equal to nearly one per cent of the population of the USA? But in real fact, the true, and not invented threat has always stemmed and continues to stem now from the USA. In combining economic aggression against Nicaragua with armed fight against it with the use of hired contra gangs, the Reagan administration has pursued and continues pursuing the aim of making short shrift of the Sandinist government, of eliminating the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people.

Both the presidential bill on frontal economic aggression against Nicaragua, which was adopted three years ago, and the current decision on prolonging its term, are in crying conflict with the norms and principles of international law, the charter of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of American States. These actions are proof of Washington's ambition to force its policy on other countries, to interfere shamelessly into the affairs of other peoples.

Persisting in its economic blockade against Nicaragua, the USA is thus demonstrating its total disregard for the efforts of the Central American and all the Latin American nations aimed at a political settlement in the Central American region. There are fresh proofs that Washington is pressing ahead for torpedoing the Guatemala agreements and the talks being held in keeping with that agreement between the Nicaraguan Government and the chiefs of armed counter-revolution.

Economic aggression is one of the traditional methods of interventionist policy of the USA in the Western Hemisphere. It is apt to recall, in particular, the criminal U.S. trade and economic blockade of Cuba and Washington's current encroachments on Panama's sovereignty and independence with the use of methods of financial and economic pressure and blackmail.

As we see, the USA by no means wishes to give up its great-power ambitions but is out to force its will on the Latin American nations as before, in disregard of the will of the peoples and governments of those countries, their wish to determine their destiny, proceeding from their own traditions, convictions and the idea of a dignified way of life.

### Duarte Loses Elections in El Salvador

*LD261119 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 26 Apr 88*

["Duarte's Party Loses Elections"—TASS headline]

[Text] Havan April 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

The right-wing Alianza Republicana Nacionalista Party (ARENA) has won the additional elections to Salvador's local bodies of power, which were held last Sunday, reports reaching from that country say. Ballotting was held mainly on March 20. Yet as a result of the fighting between guerrilla detachments and units of the Duarte regime army, elections in seven municipalities of four Salvadorean departments were foiled, which made it necessary to hold additional elections.

According to the final returns of voting issued on Mon day by the SALPRESS-NOTISAL agency on Monday,

the few Salvadoreans, who came to the polls on Sunday voted in five out of seven districts for representatives of ARENA. Now the right-wingers are in control of the activities of 178 out of the 262 municipalities of El Salvador.

Representatives of Salvador's patriotic organisations stressed in a TASS interview that the victory won by the rightists in the elections to the local bodies of power is by no means evidence of popular support for ARENA. Voting for the rightists was only an act of retribution by the Salvadoreans against Duarte, whose Christian Democratic Party was the main rival of the Nationalist Republican Alliance in the elections on March 20 and in the course of voting last Sunday. Elections to the Legislative Assembly (parliament) were also held on March 20. Despite the fact that the Christian Democratic Party assisted by the authorities attempted to rig up elections, ARENA has won a half of the parliamentary seats. The Duarte party lost its majority in the Legislative Assembly.

## Political & Social

### Demichev, Solovyev at Supreme Soviet Session

*LD261700 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held on 26 April in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of Comrade Gromyko. The question of the results of an examination of proposals and observations from the standing commissions of the chambers and deputies put forward at the seventh and eighth sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet was discussed.

A report by Maslyukov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, was heard. Maslennikov, chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, gave a coreport from the commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Taking part in the discussion were members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; Academician Basov, and Astrauskas, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania.

Then the question of the work of the soviets of people' deputies of Kazakhstan and their executive and management bodies in overcoming the lag in the construction of housing and the development of the social and cultural sphere was considered. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, gave a report.

Deputy Kulikov, leader of the preparatory commission, first secretary of the Penza party obkom, gave a supplementary report on behalf of the commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet which had taken part in the preparation of the matter concerned.

Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, and members of the Presidium Zlobin, team leader of a comprehensive team of the Zelenogradstroy production, construction, and assembly association, Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, and also Bibin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee, took part in the debate.

The decisions adopted on the questions discussed will be published in the press. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet also considered a number of other questions of the state life of the country. Taking part in the discussion of questions on the agenda were Comrades Demichev and Solovyev.

### Demichev Presents State Awards in Kremlin

*PM221135 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Awards Presented"]

[Excerpts] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented USSR state awards to a group of comrades in the Kremlin 15 April. [passage omitted]

The Order of the October Revolution was received by A.A. Baranov, chief editor of the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. [passage omitted]

P.N. Demichev warmly congratulated the recipients on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government.

### Shcherbitskiy at Meeting on Afghan Veterans

*PM250745 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Wrote: Replies, Comments, Results": ""Callousness""]

[Text] "Callousness": This was the title of a letter published 5 March from L. Prasolova, mother of a deceased internationalist serviceman. The editorial office has received a reply from Lieutenant General M. Kalinin, chief of staff of Kiev Military District. Strict party proceedings were instituted against Lieutenant Colonel V. Pilipenko, Starobelskiy Rayon military commissar, who failed personally to pass on the Order of the Red Banner to the dead serviceman's family, to visit his family, or to inquire about its needs and requirements, entrusting this to others. He was punished disciplinarily. At the No 3 Secondary School and the sovkhoz-technical college where Sergeant A. Prasolov studied, stands have been set up with his portrait and a description of the exploit which he accomplished. The international friendship club at the medical school has been named for him. The question of naming a street in Starobelsk for the internationalist serviceman will be examined by local party and soviet organs in accordance with existing legislation. Even before the material was published in the newspaper, the family had been given the statutory benefits, and a stone set up on the serviceman's grave.

The question of the need to further improve work with reserve servicemen who have fulfilled their international duty, with families of the dead, and with invalids was examined at an enlarged session of the District Military Council, in whose work V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, participated.

## Ukraine Commemorates Lenin Anniversary

### Flowers Laid at Monument

*AU270941 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Apr 88 p 1*

[RATAU report: "Tribute of Love and Respect"

[Excerpts] On 22 April, on the occasion of the 118th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, the inhabitants of Kiev gathered at the monument to the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to pay a tribute of love and respect to the leader of the revolution.

At 1300, the meeting at the monument to V.I. Lenin was joined by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Comrades Yu.N. Yelchenko, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members.

To the majestic melody of the song "Lenin Is Always With You" rising over Kreshchatik, the republic's Communist Party and government leaders placed a basket of flowers at the pedestal of the monument. The inscription on a red ribbon read: "To the great leader and teacher of the working people, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, from the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers."

The party anthem, "The Internationale," was played. [passage omitted]

Flowers at the monuments to V.I. Lenin were laid in the republic's cities and villages.

### Shcherbitskiy Attends Meeting

*AU270845 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Apr 88 p 3*

[RATAU report on the solemn meeting held in Kiev on the occasion of the 118th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin: "Along the Leninist Path of Revolutionary Renewal"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 118th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, a solemn meeting of representatives of the city's labor collectives, party, administrative, public organizations, and of the troops of the Kiev garrison was held in Kiev on 22 April. Party, war, and labor veterans, advanced production workers, scientists, culture figures, and youths gathered in the "Ukraina" Palace of Culture.

Presiding over the meeting were: V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; Yu.N. Yelchenko, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; deputy chairmen of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers; members of Kiev Gorkom and Obkom bureaus; prominent people of the republic's capital city; and representatives of the USSR Armed Forces.

K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary, opened the solemn meeting.

The report entitled "Along the Leninist Path of Revolutionary Renewal" was delivered by S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary. [passage omitted]

Prominent artistes and art collectives then gave a concert.

### Vlasov Attends Fire Service Jubilee Meeting

*PM250915 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Apr 88 p 2*

[TASS correspondent report: "Firefighters"]

[Text] The Soviet fire service is 70 years old. On 17 April 1918 V.I. Lenin signed the decree "On the Organization of State Firefighting Measures." Dozens of streets in various cities are named for firefighters. Their heroic deeds are immortalized on monuments. The Moscow and Leningrad firefighting services have been awarded the Order of Lenin. During the Great Patriotic War firefighters put out fires, rescued people, and did battle with weapons in their hands on the front and in the rear during artillery shelling and bombing. Many of them were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. This was mentioned at a ceremonial meeting held 15 April in Moscow.

The presidium included USSR minister of internal affairs A.V. Vlasov, senior party, soviet, and economic workers, veterans of labor, and representatives of the capital's public.

### Vlasov Holds Talks With Writers, Journalists

*PM251041 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 88 p 7*

[A. Rozanov report: "Restructuring Is Also Under Way in the Militia. Meeting of Writers With the Internal Affairs Minister"]

[Text] How is restructuring progressing in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its various services and components? Is the level of glasnost in reporting on the work of

the militia satisfactory? Will the investigation apparatus be reorganized? Why do so many crimes still go undetected? Is the process of ridding the internal affairs organs of bribe-takers, self-seeking people, loafers, and boors, of all who are unworthy to be guards of public law and order, continuing? What is the explanation for the alarming situation which has suddenly been revealed in the fire prevention sphere?

A meaningful conversation dealing with these and many other questions was held during a meeting between writers and A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, at the A.A. Fadeyev Central Writers' House. It was a businesslike rather than a ceremonial meeting. Some 30 well-known prose writers, writers on current affairs, playwrights, and critics whose work is in one way or another connected with the work of law enforcement organs gathered at a "roundtable."

The minister briefed the writers with utmost candor on the crime situation in the country. He noted in particular that the positive processes which emerged in the country shortly after the introduction of the well-known antialcohol measures have, nonetheless, not led to a tangible decrease in the number of the most dangerous crimes. Over the past year violations of the law such as home distilling, alcohol speculation, thefts of alcohol at production facilities, and so forth have even become more frequent. Contrary to the traditional opinion, formerly backed by the press, organized crime also exists in our country, and what is more, it has been established that in the past internal affairs officials occupying senior posts were involved in it. The problem of house break-ins remains acute and alarming and the minister described in detail measures to eradicate it.

The question was also raised of the potential role which inspired works of literature could play in instilling in readers an understanding of the complexity of current processes and the humanization of feelings, since, as the experience of past decades has shown, staking on brutal punishment has not proved its worth. In this context the high number of crimes committed by habitual criminals was mentioned.

In view of the task of organizing general legal education raised by the party, the need of establishing a mass circulation legal newspaper is being viewed as more and more topical, as LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has already reported (21 January 1987).

The minister's dialogue with the writers lasted more than 3 hours. New plans for close and fruitful cooperation were born.

### Vlasov Attends Meeting on MVD Political Organs

*PM220837 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Equal to Party Demands"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Creation of a Unified Organizational Structure for Political Organs within the USSR MVD System," which affirmed the position and basic tasks of political organs, was a new manifestation of the Communist Party's concern to enhance the role and responsibility of internal affairs organs in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress to strengthen law, order, and socialist legality. A conference of political workers from the USSR MVD system opened in Moscow 20 April.

The report by A.V. Anikiyev, chief of the USSR MVD Political Directorate, stressed that the affirmation by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo of political organs' new position within the USSR MVD system and the implementation of the planned measures will promote the strengthening of party political influence on the activity of internal affairs organs with a view to strengthening socialist legality and law and order and beefing up the protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

The innovative nature of the CPSU Central Committee resolution requires that political organs, party committees, and party bureaus fundamentally restructure the style and methods of party political work and that the aktiv and all Communists be drastically reoriented toward addressing the problems of operational service activity. More than 500,000 Communists work within the USSR MVD system, there are 10,000 primary party organizations, and 17,000 political workers. Their potential is sufficient to successfully fulfill the tasks entrusted to them.

The conference devoted particular attention to the further expansion of glasnost in the activities of internal affairs organs, the strengthening of ties with the public, and the regular briefing of the population on the results of work to strengthen law and order.

The conference was addressed by A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs.

Taking part in the conference's work were A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; I.A. Zaramenskiy, G.K. Kryuchkov, and A.S. Pavlov, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations, and leaders of law enforcement organs.

### More on Moscow Meeting

*PM251019 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Apr 88 First Edition p 5*

[Unattributed report: "Matching Up to Party Requirements"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Creating a Unified Organizational Structure for Political Organs Within the USSR MVD System," which confirmed political organs' position and main tasks, is the latest manifestation of the Communist Party's concern for boosting the role and responsibility of internal affairs organs in fulfilling the decision of the 27th CPSU

Congress on reinforcing law and order and socialist legality. A conference of political workers within the USSR MVD system opened in Moscow 20 April.

Its participants discussed the results of the work of MVD political organs in union and autonomous republics, main administrations, and krayispolkom and oblispolkom administrations and the tasks linked with the creation of a unified organizational structure for these organs and the further improvement of their activity.

The report by A.V. Anikiyev, chief of the USSR MVD Political Administration, stressed that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's approval of the new statute on political organs within the USSR MVD system and the implementation of the measures outlined will help to step up party political influence on the activity of internal affairs organs with a view to strengthening socialist legality and law and order and reinforcing protection of citizens' rights and legal interests.

However, it was pointed out at the session that a great deal still needs to be done to boost the activeness and responsibility of internal affairs organ staffers and their ability to see the profound political sense of their work to protect state interests and Soviet people's legal rights. Man, his political and intellectual makeup, his professional skill, and his civic stance and activeness are a deciding factor in restructuring internal affairs organs.

A.V. Vlasov, USSR minster of internal affairs, made a speech at the conference.

I.A. Zaramenskiy, G.K. Kryuchkov, and A.S. Pavlov, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations; and leaders of law enforcement organs took part in the work of the meeting.

## Militia Chief on Statistics, Responsibility

*LD261707 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

Not a single of some 5,000 state banks of the USSR has been robbed in the past five years. Chief of the Main Directorate of Militia of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, Major-General of the Militia Leonid Popov said this at a press conference today.

He also said that the directorate is responsible for the safety of state or individual property. If an enterprise or a flat under the militia protection are burglarised as a result of the militia's negligence, the Main Directorate of Militia is obliged to restore the total value of the things stolen without waiting for the crime to be detected.

Popov said that the systems of protection are being installed in church premises in the USSR. Over 1,000 church buildings are under the militia protection now.

Noting that the effort to combat drunkenness and alcoholism has been stepped up in the USSR since May 1985, Popov emphasised that alcohol-related crime dropped by 40 per cent in 1985-1987 as a result. However, the number of thefts at distilleries is still large. Therefore, a decision has been taken to place under the militia protection large enterprises and shops, as well as the premises where narcotics are kept. The general of the militia added that 6,895 bases where 90 per cent of all material values of the state are kept, 192 thousand shops, 575 distilleries and 43 hydrolysis plants are now under the militia protection.

## KGB Investigates Attempted 'Extremist Acts'

*PM221504 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 17, 23-29 Apr 88 (Signed to Press 21 Apr) p 2*

[Untitled report under the rubric "The USSR KGB Reports and Comments"]

[Text] In 1987, USSR state security organs carried out an investigation into two cases with respect to K.V. Kayris from Kaunas and T.G. Kobakhidze from Kutaisi.

It was established that the individuals named, who had formerly committed a number of common criminal acts, intended to carry out extremist acts in Moscow by means of explosions in public places using homemade explosive devices and firearms. To this end the latter attempted to penetrate the column of participants in the 1 May festival demonstration. On their arrest, the instruments of crime were confiscated from them.

The materials of the preliminary investigation into the criminal cases against Kayris and Kobakhidze received full confirmation on examination by the Moscow City Court.

## Terebilov: Kamenev, Zinovyev To Be Rehabilitated

*PM251120 Paris LE MONDE in French 24-25 Apr 88 p 4*

["S.K." report: "The Penal Code Reform Is Progressing More Slowly Than Expected"]

[Text] On a visit to Paris with a Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, USSR Supreme Court Chairman Vladimir Terebilov gave an interview to several journalists at the Soviet Embassy on Friday, 22 April, during which he presented a number of details about the proposed reform of the penal code and the legal system announced by Mikhail Gorbachev last year.

Mr Terebilov, who is 72 years old and was minister of justice for 14 years under Brezhnev, started by confirming the impression given by several experts in Moscow: The drafting of this reform is progressing more slowly than expected; this is also true of the proposed reform of legislation on religion.

The Supreme Court chairman stressed the need to change practice rather than the law: For instance, he said, it is pointless to change the length of prison sentences, "but we must have a more humane approach to sentences of between 10 and 15 years" (regarded as long sentences in the USSR). This is apparently also the thinking on the two articles in the Russian penal code under the terms of which dissidents have hitherto been sentenced: articles 70 and 190-1, which punish "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." "The main aim is to change the way in which they are applied," Mr Terebilov said. "Our laws are no more severe than those applied in other countries. These articles must be reformulated in a more practical way. In their present form they are too abstract and too vague. What precisely are anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation?"

It will be noted that Mr Terebilov is not talking about simply removing article 70, as some Soviet jurists had been suggesting since last year. Article 190 (or at least its equivalent in the Armenian penal code) has just been used again with the charges brought against Armenian nationalist leader Paruir Airikyan last March.

The Death Sentence and Rehabilitations [subhead]

According to the Supreme Court chairman, the death sentence should be maintained "for a time" for "serious crimes of violence," but should not apply to women or to the perpetrators of economic crimes. The senior jurist described himself as an opponent of capital punishment, but said he had received "a whole box" of letters accusing him of excessive liberalism after a Soviet television program on which he expressed his view 1 year ago. "After that I was not asked to appear on television for 6 months," he remarked.

Mr Terebilov also criticized the Western press for wrongly stating that the archives on victims of the Stalinist repression had been burned—an accusation supported by some Soviet archivists. "Not one Supreme Court document has been burned," he said, but the rumor has taken on such proportions that he has "forbidden" his "employees to smoke." Moreover, if there had been no files, how could he have carried out some 450 judicial rehabilitations, including that of Bukharin, in the past 3 years?

In this connection, Mr Terebilov said that he had started to examine two files on the defendants in the second Moscow trial, which resulted in the condemnation of Zinovyev and Kamenev in 1937. The decision to rehabilitate them might be made, he said, at one of the next plenary sessions of the Supreme Court (there are four per year) in May or June, in September, or "toward the end of the year." The political rehabilitation of 20 defendants in the 1938 trial has not yet taken place, although their judicial rehabilitation took place last year.

### Next Population Census in January 1989

*LD262031 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The next general population census in the Soviet Union on January 12-19, 1989, will be important to developing the economy and working out reasonable demographic and social policies, according to the first deputy head of the National Statistics Service.

Speaking at a briefing at the Foreign Ministry's press center here today, Nikolay Belov said also that since the previous such census in 1979 the population of this country has increased by 44 million to 285.2 million.

The demographic situation in the country over recent years has improved, with the population growth rate up and the child mortality rate down.

The questionnaires to be filled out during the upcoming survey will include 12 queries concerning age, family status, family composition, native tongue and education qualifications, among other things.

One in four people will answer extra questions in a more detailed poll. Demographs are interested, for example, in mothers indicating how many children they have borne and how many of these are still alive.

For the first time the respondents will report their housing conditions. This is important to scientific support for the national task of providing every Soviet family with a separate apartment or cottage of its own by the year 2000.

### Foreign Ministry on New Visa Procedure

*LD261705 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—New regulations concerning the issuance of entry visas for business people, scientists and technical experts from industrialized capitalist and developing nations take effect in the Soviet Union May 1, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official told reporters at a briefing here today.

Oleg Avramenko, first deputy chief of the ministry's Consular Department, explained that for the first time in this country visas will be issued to this category of people within 48 hours.

Another new and important development is that from next month possibilities will be broadened to the maximum for them to get multiple entry visas to the Soviet Union, he said.

Unlike the past, business people, scientists and technical specialists visiting the USSR for the first time will now be able to enter it on usual tourist visas, the Soviet Foreign Ministry official added.

He said that the new regulations are being introduced on a unilateral basis, though Soviet embassies, consulates and foreign economic offices abroad and in Moscow have been instructed to work towards ensuring reciprocity in visa issues.

"The new visa regulations reflect the logic of Soviet foreign policy geared to actively promoting economic, scientific and technological contacts with Western and developing nations," Avramenko said.

Business people, scientists and technical experts calling at Soviet consulates for visas are to have an invitation from the organization which they are going to work with while in the USSR. With such an invitation from the interested Soviet organization, they will be provided with visas within a maximum of 48 hours, the Foreign Ministry official said.

He explained that the position of the Soviet organization inviting a foreigner will be all-important. It is it that will decide whether it needs him or her and whether the visa should be issued or not.

Multiple entry visas will be issued by the consular directorate, but it will do so at the request of a particular Soviet host organization.

"The role of the Soviet host organization, the contractor getting in contact with a Western representative, is thus becoming decisive.

"Those having good contacts with Soviet businesspeople, with the Soviet business community can count on obtaining either one-time or multiple entry visas fast and without difficulty," Avramenko said.

If a business person or a scientist goes to the USSR without an invitation and contacts here, he or she may come as an ordinary tourist and will be able to meet with officials from respective Soviet organizations. This is a new development as well, Avramenko added.

Regulations concerning foreigners' stay in Soviet territory will be eased. They will be allowed to make multiple trips to areas open to visits by foreigners at the request of host ministries and agencies and be able to travel around there alone, without escorts.

## Turkmen Central Committee Plenum Held

*PM251025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 23 Apr—A Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee plenum held today discussed "restructuring the style and methods of work and expanding democratic principles in the activity of the republic's primary party organizations." S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report.

It was noted that in the course of the practical implementation of the party's course toward accelerating the country's socioeconomic development the restructuring of the activity of the republic's primary party organizations had begun.

The stepping up of party organizations' influence on all aspects of economic and cultural building is producing positive results. But many party organizations are still restructuring their work style only slowly and are exerting only feeble influence on the solution of the labor collectives' economic and social tasks.

Shortcomings in restructuring the primary party organizations' work are to a considerable extent the result of the fact that some party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are overlooking fundamental questions of the leadership of party organizations, are displaying little interest in their life, and have not yet renounced their supervisory functions in leading the party's basic links.

The resolution adopted outlines measures to improve the activity of the republic's primary party organizations under the conditions of restructuring.

## Tskhinvali Residents Protest Typhoid Outbreak

*PM261531 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 p 4*

[Own correspondent N. Mikeladze report under the rubric "A Correspondent Investigates": "A Drop of Foul Water That Brought Disease to the City and Made Its Inhabitants' Cup of Patience Run Over"]

[Text] On 31 March, the inhabitants of Tskhinvali, capital of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, answered questions in an express poll on the problems of life in the city. Two days later, staff at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee public opinion study center had processed the information obtained. Some 87 percent of inhabitants cited the state of hygiene in Tskhinvali as the number one problem. Housing conditions, trade, municipal services and a whole host of other very acute problems feature way back.

Two days later, a feverish, shivering patient complaining of a headache was delivered to the Tskhinvali isolation hospital. Body covered in a rash, a high temperature, the patient was in a delirious state.... Typhoid fever.

A few days later, patients were being admitted in large numbers. There were not enough beds at the isolation hospital. One section of the city hospital was made ready.

Mziya Kazhashvili, a young mother, was brought in in very serious condition. Her body was weakened by childbirth.

Chermek Kharitonovich Bagayev, Tskhinvali's chief sanitary inspector, was absent. A week before these events, he took his wife to Kurgan for an operation.

Nonetheless, we must give the doctors credit: Without their efforts, the disease could have spread even further.

An oblast and a republic government commission set to work without delay. On 10 April, it was established that the disease was entering homes via the water supply. The northern part of the city, supplied by one of four water mains originating at the water intake and purification installations near Kekha village, was affected. The seat of infection was isolated. A large group of specialists called in from Tbilisi set about eliminating the consequences of the infection. The active identification of the sick began. The outbreak peaked between 11 and 15 April. By that time, more than 100 people had been admitted to the hospital. In approximately 60 cases, the diagnosis was confirmed.

After that, the epidemic subsided. Mziya Kazhashvili's serious condition also improved.

However, another crisis lay ahead—a crisis of public confidence.

In the afternoon of 17 April, people started gathering on Teatralnaya Ploshchad in the vicinity of the party obkom building. Toward evening, a spontaneous rally was held. People demanded that the threat of infection be removed from the city, that normal water supplies be organized at long last, and that leaders guilty of neglect be punished. People also aired problems long overdue for solution: shortcomings in trade, municipal, and consumer services and food supplies.

At 2030, after visiting a relative who had come down with typhoid, the oblispolkom chairman arrived in the square. He looked for his colleagues in the crowd but did not find any. He pushed his way to the center. They made room for him on the edge of a fountain from where people were addressing the crowd.

The chairman spoke for some 40 minutes. He proposed-setting up an initiative group and elaborating concrete proposals, he spoke about the passive attitude of the citizens themselves. But they did not accept what he said; they demanded a specific answer to the questions raised—which the chairman, however, could not supply.

The citizens then addressed themselves to F.S. Sanakoyev, first secretary of the party obkom. They handed him a list of the population's demands, which they also again stated orally. A meeting with Z.A. Chkheidze, chairman of the republic government commission and first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, was arranged for the following day. Naturally, there was not enough room in the hall for everyone who wanted to attend this meeting. The republic leadership found the city inhabitants' demands justified. The commission was instructed to elaborate within one week proposals to improve the work of municipal services, trade, public catering, transport, and cultural establishements and in general to ensure the further socioeconomic development of Tskhinvali and the autonomous oblast. The commission's chairman answered inhabitants' questions. On that day, they went home satisfied. However, not even the next day did things settle down....

Throughout the 3 days, students from the K. Khetagurov Pedagogical Institute played an active part in the events.

I met them in a lecture hall. By no means all who had been out on the square were present.

"The demands are justified," Alan Parastayev said, "and we support them."

"Do you believe that Sanakoyev is guilty?"

"Yes, together with the entire leadership of the oblast and the city."

A student in the back row got up: "We also have complaints against the republic leadership. Why did they not supervise the obkom's activities properly?"

The youngsters do not have to look far for examples. Without leaving the institute building itself, they conclude that they can no longer live and study in these conditions. One tiny gymnasium for everyone, no equipment at all in the physics laboratory, and a bare minimum in the other laboratories. Even to do a minor test you have to apply to the rector, and authorization is needed to use Tbilisi library. And in the city itself? Filth, bad roads, garbage tips, and dust.

And why?

Why has there been a catastrophic shortage of drinking water in the city for many years? Even though, no doubt, there will be people among the leadership who will try to prove to you that in Tskhinvali there is more water per capita than in Britain, France, and some other highly developed countries. The city will be adequately supplied only when the new water main goes into operation

and the total capacity of the installations reaches 25,000-26,000 cubic meters. At the moment, only 6,000 cubic meters are being supplied. At best it is available in homes in the morning and in the evening. Sometimes there is no water at all. The construction of the new water main is meanwhile dragging on.

As for the old water main, it is completely worn out, lacks all sanitary protection, and the water is frequently not chlorinated. Lime is added to the water intake and purification installations near Kekha village by rule of thumb, by the shovel.

"Last year and the year before," N. Shavdin, chief of the Georgian Ministry of Health sanitation and epidemiology administration, says, "we wrote to Comrade Kachmazov of the South Osetian Oblispolkom about the lack of protection for water main installations, which is fraught with the danger of an outbreak of infectious diseases. The local service warned about this most recently in March of the current year. The infectious disease indicators in South Osetia are 50 percent above the average level for the republic as a whole.

The typhoid epidemic in Tskhinvali is subsiding. There have been no fatal cases. The last patient was admitted on 20 April. The causes of the seat of infection are being investigated. A large group of qualified specialists is at work. Prosecutor's office organs have instituted criminal proceedings. On Saturday a plenum of the party obkom was held. It was attended by D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. F.S. Sanakoyev was relieved of his duties as first secretary and member of the Bureau of the South Osetian Georgian Communist Party Obkom. Specific measures to provide assistance and to improve the ecological situation were discussed.

## Georgian Ethnic Relations Commission Meets

PM211451 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 3 April 1988 carries on page 2 a 2 April Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Formation of a Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Questions of Interethnic Relations and the International Education of the Population," signed by chairman P. Gilashvili and secretary V. Kvaratskheliya.

This is followed by a GRUZINFORM report under the heading "In the Commission on Questions of Interethnic Relations and the International Education of the Population," which reads:

"The first session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Questions of Interethnic Relations and the International Education of the Population, which was elected by the Eighth Session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, was held on 2 April.

"The session was opened by P.G. Gilashvili, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who underlined the important significance of the commission in further developing and deepening friendship and fraternity among working people of all nationalities living in the republic and ensuring the triumph of the ideas of restructuring and communist ideals.

"D.G. Sturua, chairman of the commission and director of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, talked about the great, responsible tasks that the commission must solve in the conditions of democratization and glasnost.

"The following commission members talked about their perception of its work: G.Sh. Tsitsishvili, chairman of the Georgian Writers Union Board; A.D. Dikhtyar, leader of a comprehensive team at the 'Tbilgorstroy' Association No. 5 House-Building Combine; T.M. Dzhafarli, editor of the newspaper SOVET GYURDZHUSTANY; I.V. Prangishvili, vice president of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; G.D. Lordkipanidze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Union of Theater Workers Board; N.D. Mamrashi, toolmaker at the Tbilisi 'Gruzelektromash' Production Association; and M.D. Davitashvili, chief editor of the journal SAKARTVELOS SOPLIS MEURNEOBA.

"T.M. Dzhafarli was elected deputy chairman of the commission and Z.Kh. Avidzba was elected secretary."

## Radiation Level at Chernobyl AES 'Normalized'

*LD260914 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] Chernobyl April 26 TASS—TASS special correspondent Ivan Kirillov reports:

Today, exactly two years since the breakdown at the Chernobyl nuclear power station (120 km north of Kiev), the radiation situation in the zone around the station has become normalized and does not cause concern for the health of people working here.

My dosimeter recorded 0.06 milliroentgen during a flight by plane from Moscow to Kiev, and 0.12 milliroentgen following eight hours of stay in Chernobyl. For the sake of comparison: during X-ray stomach examination a person receives up to six roentgen.

In April 1986 following the steam outbursts with a release of radioactive elements at the fourth power unit of the station, the radiation level near the reactor exceeded a thousand roentgen.

At present, considering that the maximum permissible international norm for nuclear power station personnel is five roentgen, a station worker needs to stay for 50 years to receive the dose. Incidentally, the radiation level near the breakdown power unit is 90 per cent lower than the permissible norm for operating reactors.

In Kiev, radiation level does not exceed now 0.3 milliroentgen an hour, I was told in the Ukraine Ministry of Health. This is within the limits of the so-called technogenic background which is connected with industrial activity and which exists in any large city.

## Official Interviewed on Chernobyl Anniversary

*LD261829 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[From the "120 minutes" program; interview with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Ignatenko, head of the main scientific and technical directorate of the USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry, by presenter Yevgeniy Kiselev]

[Text] [Kiselev] Today is 26 April. Today marks the second anniversary of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. Apropos of this we have invited into the studio today Yevgeniy Ivanovich Ignatenko, head of the main scientific and technical directorate of the USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry.

Until just recently Yevgeniy Ivanovich was head of the Kombinat production association, which is responsible for organizing all repair and construction work in the zone around the Chernobyl AES.

Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you may or may not agree with me, but I get the impression that our readers and our public can now hardly complain of a lack of information on the situation at the Chernobyl AES. A great deal is printed in the papers, and [word indistinct] preparing for this meeting with you, I had a look at our files, and they are literally enormous: You could drown in the sea of information. And yet it is amazing the way quite unbelievable rumors spring up—such as that the sarcophagus has split, or that mushrooms of incredible size are growing by the AES. So, taking the opportunity afforded by television, tell us what is the true situation in the area around the Chernobyl AES?

[Ignatenko] Well, I was in that area from three o'clock in the afternoon on 26 April 1986, and I returned to Moscow on 1 April 1988—almost 2 years later. In all that time I never saw any strange fungus there, or any unusual fauna. Everything was normal. The only thing is that, after the accident the birds disappeared. They just flew away. But later, once things had become more or less okay they returned.

The situation at present is generally very good, and has been so since the middle or the end of last year. Because most of the difficulties arose from the sarcophagus itself, which was open. And if, in the first few days it was the heroism of the station workers and the fire brigade units who did not let the accident develop and who saved the town of Pripyat and the adjacent territory from highly-active contamination, then later on, in the next 2 weeks, it was through the efforts of the troops, under the command of Comrade General Pikalov, and the airmen, under Comrade General Antoshkin, that the emission was localized and the reactor was shut off. And from that moment on the level of pollution of the territory started to drop.

[Kiselev] And now what is the level?

[Ignatenko] Last year, 1987, was, I believe, the decisive year—the breakthrough year—when the roofs were completely cleaned, and the surrounding territory was completely cleaned up. Now around the station the level does not exceed 10 milliroentgens. That is a fairly low level and no longer threatens the lives of people. Of course, you can't live there, but a person can easily work there without fear of being over-irradiated.

[Kiselev] And tel me, please: Is it true that as from 1 October it is planned to drop the extreme tour method of working at the station and revert to the normal shift methods?

[Ignatenko] Well, the switch to the nontour method is bound up with completion of the construction and settlement of the town of Slavutich. By 1 January of this year, more than 1,800 flats had been handed over. A school has been built, as have two kindergartens. A supermarket opened in January. A canteen has opened. In other words, the social and cultural amenities have been created ready for the settlement of this town. It has turned out rather a nice town, and it is now being constructed apace. Many of our republics are taking part: the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics, the Ukraine, the RSFSR. And each of them has done its bit. They have adorned the town with their houses. Splendid houses. For instance, houses of the Leningrad series, Armenian series, Georgian houses. The Baltic republics build wonderful houses. And the Ukrainian houses are nice. In short, all of them have tried to give this town the best of their housing stock that they have developed. And therefore, the settlement of this town is going ahead. In the first instance the station workers are being settled. Just as soon as a contingent is brought togehter sufficient to switch the station to a nontour method, the station will start operating on a normal regime, on a nontour method.

[Kiselev] So, if we sum up what has been said, it can be said that the situation is constantly returning to normal, and there are no deviations from what the experts foresaw—or at any rate now foresee?

[Ignatenko] Well, I would say it is already back to normal. There is just finishing work going on in various places and sites which cause, well, a very little anxiety. That is, nobody is threatened, but they just have to be (?cleaned up). And so, the situation is normal and in Chernobyl the sarcophagus sleeps soundly and menaces nobody. Soon people will be living a normal life in Slavutich and the station will be operating normally.

[Kiselev] Well, thank you Yevgeniy Ivanovich, thank you for your story and for coming into the studio.

### Chernobyl AES Deactivation Work Continues

*LD262107 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[Text] [Announcer] Today is exactly 2 years since the tragic reactor accident at Chernobyl AES. What has changed there since that time, and how? What is happening now? Over to our Ukraine correspondent, Vladimir Sokolov:

[Sokolov] Now, 2 years on, there are fewer and fewer traces of that tragedy. What was called the red forest [ryzhiy les] around the station, which was hit by the atomic squall [shkval], has been buried, and grass is growing in its place. The three remaining blocks, each with a capacity of 1 million kilowatts, have already produced the 23 billionth kilowatt/hour since the accident. It is true though that the first block is at present undergoing planned repairs. Now, all three of them are equipped with a highly improved, fast, and multiple fail-safe protection system which, in the words of Mykhaylo Panteliyovych Umanets, the station's director, excludes the possibility of an accident such as the one 2 years ago.

The reactor has been safely buried, and an information and diagnostical system of instruments and gauges has been set up. This shows that the processes in the damaged reactor are dying down, the temperature and gamma-radiation are rapidly decreasing, and the flow of neutrons and the expulsion of gases have already reached zero.

Deactivation, in places secondary, is continuing. Radiation monitoring of the health personnel who are working, for the time being, on special shift work, has been stepped up. One shift works for one or two weeks, resting in between them in the shift settlement called Zelenyy Mys, specially built outside a 30 km zone, and then, correspondingly, for two or three weeks, people rest with their families, settled predominantly in Kiev, where they have been provided with over 7,000 comfortable apartments. From the autumn, the special shiftwork method, which, after all, requires almost twice the personnel, should end. The new town Slavutich, about 60 km beyond the Dnepr, which is being built as fast as possible for the power engineers to replace their now dead town of Pripyat, is already being settled. A main road is being laid to it with bridges over the Dnepr and the Pripyat. With the resettlement of people in Slavutich, the transition to a normal working shift is also expected.

[Announcer] Yes, a lot has been done, but you probably noticed the correspondent's words about the fact that deactivation is still being carried out, that people are still working at the AES according to the special shift method, and that Pripyat remains a dead town. All this is the terrible price of ostentation, irresponsibility and carelessness, all those things that are characteristic of administrative and command methods. To this day, alas, they have not become just a thing of the past.

### Chernobyl Veterans Commemorate Accident

*LD262316 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Apr 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast—all individuals identified by caption]

[Text] A meeting has taken place at the Civil Defense Museum in Moscow between the heroes of Chernobyl and the current staff of the nuclear power station and the public of the capital.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent G. Sedov] One o'clock in the morning: the time when the owner of this watch and his comrades, in the most direct sense of the word, took upon themselves the fire of Chernobyl. [video shows a small pocket watch and a photograph album]

These things are now relics in a museum to the memory of heroes and of a tragedy. These are the wives and relatives—still quite young people. Some have children; some did not have time for them. There is quiet in the hall, tense attention being paid to the stories being told. For all of them it is hard to recall again the night of 26 April 1986, a severe lesson of a battle against the raging nuclear elements. [video shows people seated in a hall, some wiping away tears; group of five people sitting on separate chairs at front of hall. Sedov, microphone in hand, talks to young men standing in front of large photograph of damaged reactor]

The first question, naturally, is about your feelings. How do you all feel?

[R. Davletbayev] I usually answer that question like this: Better than I did in 1986!

[A. Melnikov] Not that much better, but, of course, better than before.

[A. Yuvchenko] Thanks to the doctors, of course, to whom we are grateful, first and foremost, for our lives. And I would like, of course, to take this opportunity to convey my great, deep gratitude for my life.

[Sedov] Yes, but you have the gratitude of many thousands for their lives.

[Yuvchenko] Well, while the boys and I had the strength we tried to do what we could to minimize the aftermath of all this.

[Sedov] But did you realize right away what had happened?

[Yuvchenko] Well, of course, we could all certainly imagine the danger threatening us. But what the guys...

[Sedov, interrupting] You could imagine what was threatening you?

[Yuvchenko] Of course, especially as the [word indistinct] told us that...

[Sedov, interrupting] But still nobody fled?

[Yuvchenko] No, not even those there who had a right to leave the shift which was on, they helped us as far as they could.

[A. Tormozin, in army uniform] People—all of us—should remember those who saved our lives, saved the station and the town, and perhaps all of us here now. We must remember that.

[Sedov] Yes, may this tragedy never be repeated. May the energy of the atom be dutiful to the sensible, peaceful will of man. [end recording]

## Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Elects New Commission

*AU261658 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Apr 88 p 3*

["Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Decision Electing the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education, and for Inter-Nationality Relations"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1) To elect the Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education, and for Inter-Nationality Relation consisting of 29 members;

2) To elect the following deputies to the Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education, and for Inter-Nationality Relations:

Commission Chairman [subhead]

Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, deputy for Tarashchanskiy Constituency, Kiev Oblast;

Commission Members [subhead]

Aleksa, Nikolay Timofeyevich, deputy for Shiryayevskiy Constituency, Odessa Oblast;

Bazhok, Pavlina Nikiforovna, deputy for Industriyalnyy Constituency, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast;

Barg, Rita Leybishevna, deputy for Leninskiy Constituency, Chernovtsy Oblast;

Birov, Antonin Aleksandrovich, deputy for Vinogradovskiy Constituency, Zakarpatskaya Oblast;

Boldarev, Oleg Nikolayevich, deputy for Suvorovskiy Constituency, Odessa Oblast;

Duduts, Olga Georgiyevna, deputy for Glybokskiy Constituency, Chernovtsy Oblast;

Zheludkovskiy, Vikentiy Aleksandrovich, deputy for Tsentralnyy Constituency, Crimean Oblast;

Znoba, Valentin Ivanovich, deputy for Rusanovskiy Constituency, the city of Kiev;

Zonenko, Andrey Timofeyevich, deputy for Sudakskiy Constituency, Crimean Oblast;

Zubkov, Sergey Yevgenyevich, deputy for Yuzhnokommunarovskiy Constituency, Donetsk Oblast;

Ignat, Mariya Zakharovna, deputy for Reniyskiy Constituency, Odessa Oblast;

Knysh, Pavel Ivanovich, deputy for Pavlogradskiy Constituency, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast;

Korniyenko, Pavel Afanasiyevich, deputy for Kovpakovskiy Constituency, Sumy Oblast;

Kuzyo, Anna-Yelena Grigoryevna, deputy for Shevchenkovskiy Constituency, Lvov Oblast;

Lavrinenko, Sergey Nikitovich, deputy for Chervonozavodskoy Constituency, Kharkov Oblast;

Levchuk, Timofey Vasilyevich, deputy for Skolevskoy Constituency, Lvov Oblast;

Lichman, Vladimir Pavlovich, deputy for Pogrebishchenskiy Constituency, Vinnitsa Oblast;

Marmazov, Yevgeniy Vasilyevich, deputy for Gorodishchenskiy Constituency, Kirovograd Oblast;

Mikolenko, Lyubov Vladimirovna, deputy for Gorodishchenskiy Constituency, Cherkassy Oblast;

Mushketik, Georgiy Mikhaylovich, deputy for Komsomolskiy Constituency, the city of Kiev;

Pashkov, Sergey Borisovich, deputy for Malinskiy Constituency, Zhitomir Oblast;

Pekhota, Vladimir Yulyevich, deputy for Industriyalnyy Constituency, Lvov Oblast;

Platonenko, Galina Pavlovna, deputy for Dergachevskiy Constituency, Kharkov Oblast;

Polyanskaya, Lyubov Vladimirovna, deputy for Zorinskiy Constituency, Voroshilovgrad Oblast;

Rudeleva, Olga Yuryevna, deputy for Kalushskiy Constituency, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast;

Slavov, Nikolay Antonovich, deputy for Sosnovskiy Constituency, Cherkassy Oblast;

Khadzhinov, Leonid Petrovich, deputy for Osipenkovskiy Constituency, Zaporozhye Oblast;

Shinkaruk, Vladimir Illarionovich, deputy for Zdolbunovskiy Constituency, Rovno Oblast;

3) in connection with the election of Deputies P.N. Bazhok, R.L. Barg, A.A. Birov, O.N. Boldarev, O.G. Duduts, V.A. Zheludkovskiy, V.I. Znoba, A.T. Zonenko, S.Ye. Zubkov, M.Z. Ignat, P.I. Knysh, P.A. Korniyenko, L.M. Kravchuk, A.-Ye.G. Kuzyo, S.N. Lavrinenko, T.V. Levchuk, V.P. Lichman, L.V. Mikolenko, G.M. Mushketik, S.B. Pashkov, V.Yu. Pekhota, L.V. Polyanskaya, O.Yu. Rudeleva, L.P. Khadzhinov, and V.I. Shinkaruk as members of the Commission for Patriotic and Internationalist Education and for Inter-Nationality Relations, to relieve them of the duties of members of other Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The City of Kiev, 18 April 1988

## Ukrainian Officials Encourage Individual Farming

*AU261730 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Apr 88 pp 1, 3*

[Unattributed report: "A Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] A routine session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 11 April.

The session examined the efforts of Volyn Oblast administrative and economic organs to utilize the experiences of Zaleshchitskiy and Kremenetskiy Rayon local soviets in increasing the output, procurements, and sales of farm produce from the population. A report was delivered by V.G. Fedorov, oblispolkom chairman.

It was noted that, in conformity with the directives of the 27th Congress and the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums, the oblast's soviets had concentrated their efforts on stepping up agricultural production and on accomplishing the tasks set under the Food Program. To replenish food resources, fuller use has been made of the potentials of citizens' individual subsidiary holdings.

A number of organizational measures have been taken to expand the output and procurement of agricultural produce on contracts and lease at holdings run by the population.

At the same time, the oblast's local soviets and organs of the agro-industrial complex still have not fully utilized the available reserves to hasten the development of individual subsidiary holdings. Insufficient efforts have been made to augment the output and purchases of vegetables, fruit, and berries among the population. Too little assistance has been given to citizens in acquiring vegetable seeds, seedlings, and fertilizers. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes have taken insufficient pains to provide citizens' holdings with young livestock, poultry, and with feed. Not everywhere has the population been provided with proper conditions for selling produce. Soviet deputies have inadequately engaged in this work. [passage omitted]

The Presidium has obligated Volyn Oblispolkom to take immediate steps to restructure the work carried out to further develop the population's individual holdings, and to increase the output and procurement of their agricultural produce. [passage omitted]

The session examined a report by A.T. Melnikov, Kherson Oblispolkom chairman, on the work done by the oblast's soviets to meet legal requirements with regard to the development of cooperative and individual trade activity.

The oblispolkom and economic organs were criticized for the shortcomings in developing the work to promote the cooperative movement and to create the necessary conditions for individual labor activity. [passage omitted]

Upon the motion of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Trade, the Presidium examined the efforts made to restructure the production and procurement activity of consumers' cooperative organizations aimed at increasing food resources.

The attention of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers' Societies and of Comrade S.V. Litvinenko, its chairman, was called to the fact that many consumer cooperative organizations and enterprises are slow to meet the requirements of the Food Program; their activity has recently lost dynamism and does not meet the demands and needs of the rural population. [passage omitted]

The Presidium seconded the conclusions of the Supreme Soviet Commission for Trade and instructed the Ukrainian Union of Consumers' Societies to fundamentally improve the procurement and production activity of its subordinated organizations; to ensure that the part of consumer societies in the accomplishment of rural socioeconomic tasks is significantly larger; and that the population's needs for foodstuffs and other goods and services are more fully met.

The Presidium session also examined other problems concerning the republic's state life.

Participating in the discussion on the agenda items were V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, and A.A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary.

## 'Truly Leninist' Restructuring Stance Welcomed

PM221037 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 14 April 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Responses to Editorial Article: Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Action" a roundup of readers' letters written in response to the 5 April PRAVDA editorial article attacking the views expressed by N. Andreyeva in a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 13 March article entitled "I Cannot Waive My Principles." The readers express their gratitude to PRAVDA for its stance on the attitudes to restructuring and to the exposure of past ills expressed by Andreyeva. In particular, N. Raskov from Leningrad writes:

"It must be said that the opponents of restructuring are not only waiting for it to backfire but are themselves quietly trying to slow it down. Now they are becoming bold and raising their heads, and there are a number of factors which are helping that to a certain extent. Schemes and intentions often lag behind real deeds. In the past 3 years people have already become accustomed to and even tired of phrases and promises, they want to see a real improvement in their economic situation. But there is not much to write home about here yet. On one hand the Law on the Enterprise was introduced, while on the other it was undermined by the state ordering system. Nothing has changed. The introduction of the democratic mechanism of cadre selection is proving difficult. It may be said that the fashion for electing leaders has already passed.

"The transfer to economic accountability, democracy, and glasnost is the salvation of restructuring, and we must be bolder in making real progress in that direction."

Moscow PRAVDA on 16 April 1988 in its Second Edition carries another roundup under the same title on page 2. It opens with a letter from Candidate of Philosophical Sciences T. Belova, senior teacher in the department of Scientific Communism at the Moscow Physical Technical Institute, which reads in full as follows:

"Restructuring is affecting every home, every collective, and each person. It is in us. The democratic spirit of political life breaks with the conformism which during the years of stagnation did not leave a single stratum of our society unaffected: neither managers, workers, Communists, nor nonparty people. But it was probably cadres of social scientists which suffered most from conformism.

"I am a young social scientist and I received my professional training at that time when social sciences teaching was lackluster and uninteresting. Publications on social sciences problems were monotonous and the works "Malaya Zemlya," "Rebirth," and "Virgin Land" were studied as examples of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Social scientists were trained in a spirit of uniformity and hierarchical thinking, and we gradually developed our own inner censorship and a fear of saying too much.

"We are children of our time. But it is important today to decide what our time is—the time of stagnation or the time of renewal. For example, mine is the time of restructuring. Although it is true that the time of stagnation did not pass me by—I have to acknowledge that fact. To ensure that my dissertation did not earn me criticism I, like everyone else around me, worked by citing the authorities—I was persuaded that this was how it had to be done, that the struggle was not only uneven but quite simply impossible. And that kind of conduct can only be called conformism.

"But people cannot go on living that way now. Today you are either for or against restructuring. The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article "I Cannot Waive My Principles" has become the touchstone by which we judge how far we have mastered the new political thinking—the article is demagogic in essence and, although it uses contemporary quotations, its content is contrary to those quotations. Some of my colleagues believe that it did not merit such attention from PRAVDA. But the point is that it did because it actually highlighted those forces which are opposed to the renewal of society and restructuring.

"Ideological renewal presupposes, on the one hand, the destruction of the old and, on the other, the affirmation of the new. This process necessarily involves a reassessment of the past, a courageous break with the conventional, the elimination of dogmatism, the cultivation of truth and justice, and a breakthrough in favor of glasnost.

"Only the mechanism of acceleration can counter the braking mechanism. We who have raised the question of the administrative apparatus in a revolutionary way and who are taking measures to ensure that administrators are involved in the production chain: Why have we carried the can for decisions that they have taken, and why at the same time do we tolerate the passivity and parasitism of some social scientists? I believe that in the struggle for restructuring the indicator of our vitality should be the struggle for the ideology of renewal and for the new political thinking.

"It must be noted that students are not confused about the events that are taking place: They support restructuring and need no convincing. Young people accept the revolutionary renewal wholeheartedly because this renewal is their future. However, the youthful fervor of their struggle for renewal is often influenced by an excessive maximalism and certain forms of utopianism. As a result some young people become dissatisfied with what is happening and sometimes a conflict situation occurs. Here, too, we social scientists must be equal to young people's intellectual demands, must capably help them to understand the events taking place, and must make wider use of current affairs journalism and works of literature for that purpose. We must cast aside personal likes and dislikes, reject the enemy image, and not succumb to the ideological hysteria weighed down by the burden of years gone by but assess objective reality from the standpoint of the dialectical nature of Marxist-Leninist teaching. We must learn how to combine political and ideological goals with the norms of morality. In brief, I see our task in these terms—to shape the fighters for restructuring, who must mature, acquire new experience, and be ready to follow the chosen path to the end."

Great Patriotic War veteran V. Neretin from Kishinev emphasizes the party's role as the "driving force" of restructuring, while another war veteran, N. Tychkov from Ivanovo, regrets the fact that restructuring, which he terms "essential," is proceding "slowly" and in some places "is not moving at all." A. Korepanov, a CPSU member since 1952, writes from Perm:

"One has to be completely ignorant of life and divorced from the people to fail to understand their attitude to our domestic situation and to the economic position before 1985. Just look, for example, at the agricultural situation in the non-Chernozem Zone! And yet you find orthodox thinkers who are beginning to yearn for the old way of life and who repeat the dogmas which everyone has grown tired of. Clearly they are thinking here of restoring the privileges of the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus. I wonder what they would have said about Stalin had they themselves been imprisoned without cause?

"I wholeheartedly support restructuring and wish it success. It is necessary to act as quickly as possible to ensure that people perceive its material results."

K. Dzhusupov, secretary of the Kirghiz Writers Union Board and chief editor of the magazine ALA TOO, notes that preparations are in hand in his republic to publish works on those of his fellow countrymen who suffered during the years of the personality cult and believes that this work will help to develop restructuring in other areas of life too.

V. Bubnov, a CPSU member since 1955, writes:

"The ideas of restructuring, like all progressive ideas, do not immediately 'win the masses over' at a stroke. It takes time, during which old values are reassessed and outmoded opinions are criticized and replaced by new ideas. This process is extraordinarily difficult and for a certain section of our citizens agonizing. It is the press first and foremost, with its multimillion audience, which can and must make the main contribution to acclerating this process."

O. Krayvanovich, a CPSU member since 1979, writes from Kursk:

"Restructuring has acquired too many well-wishers in various places and at various levels. They really become incensed at 'press indiscipline.' But in fact they are concerned with protecting their own or their group interests. While hiding behind talk about the 'threat from within' they seek a pretext to divert restructuring onto the well-worn track of demagoguery and phrase-mongering. There are no other words to describe this search in present-day Soviet society for the descendants of the classes overthrown by the October Revolution.

"As I see it the moment is now approaching when it will be decided which is to prevail: the desire to really change the country's life for the better, or the striving to leave everything in its old place and merely to embellish the facade and update the slogans."

V. Podgornyy, a 37-year-old worker, writes:

"As I read PRAVDA I understood that glasnost and democracy will not give way and that nothing will force people who have adopted the course of restructuring (and this is very important—they are people who head our country) to abandon their chosen course. This is a schooling in democracy and we have all begun to learn here—both ordinary people and the highest leaders. There are still many things which we cannot do, we collect bumps and bruises in the process, and sometimes we simply lose our way in this social condition which is new to us. But it is simply vitally necessary to go through all the stages of this schooling. A symphony of the most diverse opinions and views is starting up. No, there is no symphony yet—the vast orchestra is still merely tuning up. And the task for all of us is to ensure that its playing is harmonious and powerful."

The final contribution to the present roundup is a letter from the secretariat of the broad of the RSFSR Composers' Union signed by R. Shchedrin, Ya. Frenkel, K. Volkov, A. Nikolayev, V. Agafonnikov, O. Galakhov, Yu. Korev, I. Popov, B. Minayev, and A. Medvedev, who write:

"The PRAVDA editorial article troubled us Russian musicians deeply. The article honestly and frankly expressed ideas and opinions on the most important questions of our turbulent life today. The article is militant and truly Leninist in spirit. It contains that truth

experienced by the people, a truth which is becoming the norm of our everyday life, one which is welcomed and approved by the overwhelming majority of Soviet people and which, let us be frank, infuriates and causes fierce resistance among those whose position is being undermined. We fully support with our hearts and our deeds the party's struggle for restructuring and for the renewal and democratization of our society, which is on the verge of a dramatic, historic breakthrough."

### Writers' Letter to PRAVDA on Glasnost

*LD191038 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0025 GMT 19 Apr 88*

[Text] Moscow, 19 Apr (TASS)—"PRAVDA" has published a letter today under the heading "More Glasnost, More Democracy, More Socialism." It is signed by a large group of Soviet writers and says:

Three years have gone by since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and for 3 years we have been living under the slogan "More Socialism!"

During these years a concept, strategy, and tactics of restructuring have been collectively formulated and its revolutionary principles have been clearly defined. Restructuring, which our society has gone through, has become a social practice, the essence of our daily lives. It has become a part of us as a model for thought and action. It seems that in this short period we have all changed; our fellow citizens have not shown the sort of civic activity which we now see all around us for many years, decades even.

Society has resolutely set about resolving the most pressing, the most urgent, the greatest problems. They cannot be resolved by issuing edicts and commands. These methods took the country to its precrisis state and today they are the greatest retarding factor along the road of our restructuring. It is they indeed that hinder the implementation of radical economic reform—the main lever for changes. It is they indeed who hamper the development of democracy and constantly aspire to keep glasnost and freedom of speech "within bounds."

What is the past to which the retarding forces want to return the country? To stagnation which is synonymous with disintegration? To more distant years when the law was flouted in the country and when the immoral phrase "no one is irreplaceable" ruled?

Soviet writers have done quite a lot to ensure that socialist society should be self aware and reach the conclusion that revolutionary changes are needed. Their role in the campaign for restructuring, their energetic activity during restructuring are related in particular in the article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolution in Thinking and Acting" ("PRAVDA", 5 April 1988).

Soviet writers saw this article in "PRAVDA" as a question to them: Whose side are you on, cultural experts?

We answer unambiguously: We are on the side of revolution and of its sacred ideals!

The unprecedented activity of our readers, the enormous amount of attention paid by the people to the words of writers, the confidence and hope with which our fellow country people look to us all oblige us writers on the eve of the 19th party conference to state resolutely and uncompromisingly: There is only one road open to us—revolutionary restructuring! The people and the party can be absolutely confident: We will not surrender the pure ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution to which the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums summoned the country. No matter what "platforms" are adopted by the forces opposed to restructuring and which advocate the interests of the system of issuing edicts and commands, which is completely worn out and discredited, they will not succeed in winning society over. They will not succeed in revising and blocking the ideology of restructuring.

Through this letter prose writers and poets, publicists, dramatists, critics, and the entire Writers' Union state: to be a patriot of the socialist fatherland today means to be a campaigner for restructuring!

G. Markov, V. Karpov, M. Alekseyev, A. Ananyev, G. Baklanov, S. Baruzdin, Yu. Bondarev, G. Borovik, V. Bykov, Yu. Verchenko, A. Voznesenskiy, N. Gorbachev, D. Granin, N. Gribachev, Yu. Gribov, I. Dedkov, A. Dementyev, Yu. Drunin, Ye. Yevtushenko, S. Zalygin, A. Ivanov, Ye. Isayev, V. Korotich, V. Krupin, F. Kuznetsov, S. Mikhalkov, A. Mikhaylov, P. Nikolayev, P. Proskurin, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, V. Rozov, A. Salynskiy, Ye. Sidorov, K. Skvortsov, Yu. Surovtsev, A. Chakovskiy, Yu. Chernichenko, M. Shatrov.

### Zubkov Denies Reform Opposition

*LD192009 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, by political observer Georgiy Zubkov; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zubkov] The reason for our conversation, for this interview, was the statement by the Deutsche Welle radio station which with a single stroke of the pen, so to speak, divided writers from everything taking place in our country. What was stated was literally the following: The USSR Union of Writers did not join in the statement by the country's cultural organizations on solidarity with General Secretary Gorbachev's policy of reform. The signature of Vladimir Karpov, the head of the Union of Writers, is missing beneath the text of the open

letter published on the front page of PRAVDA. This refers to yesterday's PRAVDA publication. [video shows LITERATURNAYA GAZETA front-page article entitled: More Glasnost, More Democracy, More Socialism!]

[Karpov] Rapidity in transmitting information has always been regarded as a merit of this or that organ of the press, or television, or radio, but in the case at issue, we see that rapidity, haste can be injurious. What they very much wanted to comment on in their own way does not, properly speaking, exist. It just did not happen!

[Zubkov] Since we all saw in PRAVDA today precisely the letter from our major writers, entitled: More Glasnost, More Democracy, More Socialism.

[Karpov] The USSR Union of Writers is, in fact, one of the major creative unions, uniting 10,000 professional writers. When this long article was published in PRAVDA, this is for us, you understand, a big program for our work.

[Zubkov] In front of you there on the table is a noteworthy issue, tomorrow's LITERATURNAYA GAZETA!

[Karpov, indicating copy of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA article alongside picture of Lenin] Yes, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; it has just been brought to me and it will be available. Soviet writers took the PRAVDA publication as a question addressed to themselves: Who are you with, masters of culture? We reply unambiguously: We are with the revolution, with its sacred ideals. The unprecedented activity on the part of the reading public, the great attention being paid to our words as writers by the people, and the confidence and hope with which our compatriots regard us, all oblige us on the eve of the 19th party conference to declare determinedly and uncompromisingly: Before us is one path, that of revolutionary restructuring.

Just look which writers have signed it: Vasil Bykov, Shatrov, Granin, Mikhalkov, Rozov, Korotich, Voznesenskiy, Borovik, and many others, too; Petr Proskurin, Yevtushenko; then there is Yuliya Drunina, an outstanding poetess. Well, there is a selection of names I personally take great pleasure in reading.

Glasnost has opened all the sluicegates so wide that those who have ill will toward us have even become a bit confused. They think, you see, that by not signing, Karpov, the secretary of the Union of Writers, was making some sort of protest. Everyone can express his own opinion, his ideas and judgements in different ways. What happened was actually a manifestation of glasnost, a manifestation of the new thinking. The representatives of those creative unions wrote in one way, and we wrote in another. We think this way on this subject: more glasnost, more democracy, more socialism!

## Readers Note Conference Expectations, Concerns

*PM221337 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Article by Yuriy Orlik, IZVESTIYA deputy editor for letters department, under the rubric "Reading the Mail": "Thinking About the Conference"]

[Text] "Preparations are now under way for the 19th party conference. I will say without exaggeration that people expect a great deal from it," writes M. Romanchak to the editorial office from the village of Meykshtay in the Lithuanian SSR's Ignalinskiy Rayon. "It seems to me that it will be equal in significance to a congress. Politically conscious people believe in the correctness of the course taken by the party, believe that the things have started moving. Obviously, central organs are being sent a flood of very different letters and suggestions. Not one of them can be brushed aside."

What is the chief aspect of these expectations, and about what are readers most concerned?

"Now that revolutionary transformations are embracing all aspects of life and not only economic but also political mechanisms in the country are changing," CPSU member M. Kostikov writes from Lipetsk, "the state of the party is particularly important." "If there is no healthy, wise party, there will be no restructuring," Danilov of Krasnoyarsk is convinced.

"How much I wish that the party conference will boldly declare an uncompromising struggle against the opponents of restructuring," S. Fedoruk, CPSU member since 1962, writes from Brest, "and will be able to break the mechanism of resistance and thereby open a direct and free path to social justice, glasnost, democratization, initiative, and creativity. Therefore who will participate in the conference is very important. After all, many people have had time to adapt themselves to the new conditions while continuing to live with old baggage and old ideas—it is easier that way..."

Here is an example. The report of the bureau for directing restructuring at a Korenovskiy Party Raykom Plenum (Krasnodar Kray) was turned into a eulogy of the first secretary. An article in the rayon newspaper confirms this. The mail attests that this happens not only at rayon level. The temptation to propose a toast to the leader is both great and safe. However, "a party which does not have serious, unostentatious criticism in its ranks," A. Ivendikov of Bobruysk in Mogilev Oblast is convinced, "degenerates and loses its fighting qualities and then also its authority with people." "We now seem to speak and write freely," A. Artemenko of Donetsk remarks. "But these phrases continue to turn up: The plenum or the conference was held under the sign of unanimity. Who, then, is resisting restructuring?" "We must create conditions in the party," P. Rekalo of the city of Akhtyrka in Sumy Oblast writes, developing this

thought, "so that there is a really independent competition of minds in the elaboration of policies. An opponent who has a different viewpoint must be respected before a decision is made just as much as those party members who vote 'in favor.' If such conditions are not created, the likelihood of a mistake increases many times over. The party's wisdom consists not in mechanical unanimity nor in its proclaimed monolithic nature but in the uniting of diverse opinions."

Letters voice concern in connection with the fact that harm was done to "the party's tremendous authority which was won by its best sons who selflessly served it and devoted their whole strength and life to the ideals of socialism" (I. Verevochkin, Yalta) during the years of the cult and stagnation. The chief task is to restore the Leninist essence of socialism and the Leninist principles of organizing political life, including internal party life.

A considerable number of readers believe the party has "opened its doors to almost everyone" and that this is weakening it. "At the same time, voices are heard saying," S. Shishkin writes from the city of Yelabuga in the Tatar SSR, "that we must not cut ourselves off from the people, the party is not a sect, and the more members the better. But, you know, Lenin bequeathed the idea that we must put the quality of the party's ranks in first place." "You end up with a strange picture," S. Shishkin continues. "Having such a vast apparatus of kraykoms, obkoms, and gorkoms, we do not have the time to really occupy ourselves with primary party organizations. We know neither the needs nor the thoughts of ordinary communists. So is it, perhaps, time to abandon the existing, plainly overpopulated structure of party committees in cities and rayons? There must be party leaders where the fate of restructuring is being decided."

Other readers also point to the cumbersome nature of leading party structures and the party apparatus and to their remoteness and detachment from the life of working people. "Many party workers have lost touch with the land and the people"—this is how L. Bulin of Kiev formulates his thought. "Let us finally admit honestly," L. Kanunnikov writes from Blagoveshchensk, "that the administrative-injunction system is not a legacy from Stalin but the usual habitat of officials accustomed to lecturing to everyone about everything. If they had their way, they would change nothing."

B. Abanosimov, a fitter from Orenburg, associates many misfortunes in the life of our society with "the sway of talentless people in official posts" and with their "shuffling, switching, and preservation." "There are so many clever, talented people in our country," worker N. Kravchuk writes from Krasnodar Kray, "but they are not given a chance. It is talented people who must be promoted, not simply people on the party schedule [nomenklaturnyye]." Saying that we live at a crucial time ("how I want the renewal to proceed more quickly"), N. Novikov of the city of Shostka in Sumy Oblast believes that "the new times need new leaders, not yesterday's heroes of stagnation."

The mail includes many letters whose writers suggest purging the party of people who have ended up in it by chance or for careerist reasons which shame the title of real communist. "Careerists, deceivers, show-offs, and toadies are entrenched in the CPSU's ranks," D. Tkachev writes from the Sosnovskiy Sovkhoz in Sverdlovsk Oblast's Kamenskiy Rayon. "The party must rid itself of those who cannot stomach restructuring." "I cannot help thinking of the fact that the leading workers exposed in certain republics were party members"—these are lines in a letter from Shitulina of the city of Kokhtla-Yarve in the Estonian SSR. "Such people must be driven in ignominy from the party. And not when they are already in the dock, but sooner. Let us recall Lenin: '...It is necessary to purge the party of elements who lose touch with the masses (not to mention, of course, elements who shame the party in the eyes of the masses).'"

However, it is not just a matter of getting rid of ballast. "The majority of the people favor restructuring," O. Zhurov writes from Minsk. "Of course, it cannot proceed painlessly. For how many problems have accumulated over the decades! We must all—both Communists and nonparty people—summon up patience, roll up our sleeves, and work, and not sit with arms folded. And pension off those who do not wish to restructure themselves and who hinder M.S. Gorbachev, reduce them to the ranks, and take them down from high posts."

"If I were asked which were the very best times," A. Chigirev of Kiev shares his memories, "I would confidently reply: the time after the revolution. Cold, hungry, poorly dressed, homeless, but united by a single idea, when, disregarding the time, the privations, and the labor, we wanted to create a country for the working people's happy life as quickly as possible. When the director ate soybean fritters in the same canteen as his workers and when, together with everyone, he saved the plant from inundation by a spring flood (1930, Artem Plant, Nizhnedneprovsk). People must be given back faith that social justice exists. The people must be given back the sense of being the master. An extremely difficult task, but that is restructuring's purpose." "The leading staff must not appear a select elite but be in the midst of the people's masses," V. Lysenko of Kramatorsk believes. "The will of the party must dovetail with the people's will in practice and not just in words. And be controlled by the people," L. Borisov of the city of Furmanov in Ivanovo Oblast believes.

Only the resolute democratization of our whole sociopolitical life can guarantee the party and society against "crises of absolute power," A. Ivendikov of Bobruysk, whose letter we have already cited (other readers also subscribe to this opinion), believes. And, in particular, secret elections, the existence of several candidacies, and

the limiting of leaders' tenure of power—at various levels of party, state, and economic activity, moreover: "This will involve new people in management and make leaders think that they will have to answer during their lifetime for everything they have done, and not after their death."

Take note. Letters—even the most critical and pointed letters—are imbued with concern that uncompromising lessons be drawn from what has been lived through and experienced and that principles of the organization of internal party life be elaborated which will exclude forever the possibility of a repetition of our misfortunes and mistakes.

"I am 42 years old, my family—two little girls—is growing up, and I have worked all my life as a welder: I have participated in the construction of main gas and oil pipelines," B. Tsivilev of Chelyabinsk speaks about himself. "My grandfather and father were subjected to repression. It is bitter to recall all that. But it is important that, having admitted the tragic mistakes, the party is rectifying the situation. It is telling the truth about both the past and the present. It is changing our life. I am not a party member. I used to believe that everything in my personal life was settled and that things did not concern me. But now I realize that I must make every effort and give all my soul to helping the party. It has found the right path."

This thought—not to wait for changes, but bring them closer—is repeated in other letters. Noting the "real changes in favor of democracy" in the life of the party and the country, A. Yusfin, who works at Novorossiysk Higher Engineering Maritime School, writes: "I am not a party member, but what is now happening makes me want to join the CPSU, although I did not have such a desire before."

**Reader Requests Secret Ballot, Two-Term Limit**
*PM221415 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 88 First Edition p 2*

[Reader's letter published under the general rubric "From the Discussion Mailbag: Addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference" and the general heading "Reinforcing Democracy"]

[Text] With a view to the further deepening and expansion of democratic principles in cadre policy, the upcoming party conference should, in my view, discuss the question of the election of elective party organ secretaries of all levels (right up to the CPSU Central Committee) by secret ballot from several candidates at relevant conferences and congresses rather than plenums. Their tenure should be restricted to no more than two successive terms.

This will not only accord with the spirit of the current democratic changes but will help to avert a multitude of the causes of stagnation phenomena.

Signed: V. Dolidze, lathe operator, member of the Adzhar Party Obkom Bureau, Batumi. [Editor's Note: Second Edition omits this item]

**Rationale of All-Union Conference Explained**
*PM261357 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Apr 88 p 3*

[Article by B. Kudashkin of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism Leninism, answering readers' questions, under the rubric "You Wanted to Know": "In the Period Between Congresses"—first pararaph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Text] The editorial office is receiving letters inquiring about the practice of holding all-party conferences and their aims and tasks in connection with the upcoming 19th all-union party conference. B. Kudashkin, a staffer at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism Leninism, answers the readers' questions.

In the party's entire history, 18 all-party conferences have been held, 7 of them during the prerevolution period. It is almost half a century now since a all-party conference was held. In this context, the convocation of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference unquestionably represents a very significant event in the life of the party. In the early days of the party's establishment, all-party conferences played a very important role.

During the prerevolution years, they served mainly to resolve tactical questions. They elaborated, for instance, the party organizations' line toward other parties and social forces at specific periods, their stance on the agrarian or nationalities question or on specific, pressing aspects of party building.

Some all-party conferences were convened at crucial moments of the revolutionary struggle: They adopted important, crucial decisions defining the activity of the party for a long time to come, elected the Central Committee, or introduced changes to its composition.. Thus V.I. Lenin described the Fifth RSDWP [Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party] Conference as a turning-point in the development of the party during the reaction years. From the viewpoint of the science of party history, the decisions of that conference formed the basis of the RSDWP's tactical line right up to the 1917 February Revolution in Russia. The Sixth (Prague) All-Russian RSDWP Conference has been compared in its significance to a congress.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, questions of economic policy, party building (including questions concerning the statutes), the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the friendship of the USSR peoples, and the development of

socialist competition were discussed at all-party conferences. In their documents the conferences complemented and clarified the fundamental directives elaborated at party congresses and dealt with questions of vital importance for the party, the country, and the fate of socialist building.

In short, historical practice indicates that all-union party conferences represent an important democratic form of collective discussion of urgent questions of party policy and of vital problems of party work between congresses.

Question: Why was it necessary to convene the 19th all-union party conference?

Answer: The times are such that life is frequently outstripping even the boldest decisions, and the need arises to bring party directives in line with the new needs of life. Thus, the upcoming conference, as the CPSU Central Committee has noted, is necessary to assess our progress in the main spheres of economic and social development, analyze the course of the implementation of the radical reform of economic management, and the participation in restructuring of party and other social organizations and state and economic organs. It is of vital importance to discuss progress in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, the main results of the first half of the 12th 5-Year Plan, the party organizations' tasks in deepening the process of restructuring, and the measures needed to further democratize party and social life.

The need to convene the conference precisely in June 1988 is dictated, among other things, by the fact that, proceeding from the conclusions which will be reached at this all-party forum, it is planned in the course of the 1988 reports and elections to exactingly examine the work and tasks of every party organization in the leadership of restructuring. We keep in mind M.S. Gorbachev's words at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. Conferences, he emphasized, "have helped at crucial stages to identify new paths and means of achieving set aims and to resolve problems going far beyond tactical problems."

Revolutionary restructuring is precisely such a crucial stage. At this stage, life is confronting us with new, complex problems and decisions. So the frank statement at the recent CPSU Central Committee February Plenum is quite understandable: "...many problems have accumulated. Half-measures will not do here. It is obvious that we must prepare for the upcoming party conference detailed proposals for improving the political system—proposals based on the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums on the socialist self-management of the people, proposals which take account of the democratization processes under way in society."

As one can see, there is a very important reason for convening a grand council of the country's Communists. So the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference by no means necessarily creates a new precedent for holding regular all-party conferences after a break of almost 50 years. No, it is vitally necessary for the sake of the work in hand; it is necessary as a valuable "working" party measure.

Question: Views to the effect that, because of the rapid democratization of the party's internal life, the need has arisen to introduce certain important changes to the existing CPSU Statutes have been expressed at meetings and in the press.

Answer: Indeed, this has happened in practice more than once before. For example, the first Statutes of the party, as a ruling party that is, were adopted by the Eighth All-Russian Conference of the RCP (B) [Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)]. That was in 1919. Certain changes in the Statutes were also introduced by the 12th All-Russian RCP (B) Conference in August 1922.

It is also not without interest to focus attention on the decisions of the 13th all-union party conference. It approved in principle a proposal to change the representation quota for the upcoming 13th RCP (B) Congress to one representative per 500 people. In this context, I.V. Stalin's amendment, introduced immediately after the proposal and demanding that this proposal be referred to the Central Committee for examination, is characteristic. It shows that the general secretary's meaningful "reminders," the "knots in the handkerchief" so that people would not forget that the Central Committee is the highest party organ between congresses, had begun even then....

Question: Why were no all-party conferences convened after 1941? We have gathered from polemical articles in the press that it was because the effect was felt of the "bitter" lessons of former all-party conferences and congresses of the post-October period. Clearly, Stalin's personality cult and the administrative-command style, and even the repressive style of work which also infiltrated intraparty life had left their mark on the course of all-party events. What can you say on this subject?

Answer: It is true that for almost half a century, no party conferences were convened. As regards wartime, this can be explained—the situation dictated a curtailment of democratic procedures and a rigid centralization of control. However, the total neglect of all-party conferences during the postwar period can and must be explained above all by the violation of the Leninist democratic principles and norms of party life.

The party statutes approved by the 19th and 22d CPSU Congresses made no provision for the convocation of all-party conferences. In the seventies and early eighties, too, the principle of collective decisionmaking was infringed, and the role of elective organs was weakened.

The curtailment and "underdevelopment" of supervision of the activities of the top echelon, the latter's failure to observe statutes and laws, and the discrepancy between words and actions are characteristic of the administrative-command methods of party and state leadership.

The restructuring initiated since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum has created a unique concrete historical situation in the party and the country. Of exceptional importance in this situation is the qualitative growth of the Communist Party and the democratization which has been recognized as a vital need of intraparty life and party leadership of society. Hence the resolute rejection of the administrative-pressure style and the persistent and vigorous efforts to overcome the gulf between words and actions. Restructuring—among other things—is taking account not just of positive developments but also of bitter experience.

An atmosphere has now taken shape in the party which, it is hoped, will make it possible to discuss the pressing development questions frankly and without an eye on easy options or short-term considerations. So Communists are looking forward to the opening day of the 19th all-union party conference with hope and faith.

## Bestuzhev-Lada on Details of Stalinist Terror

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[Article by Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, honored scientist of the RSFSR: "Return to the Truth: Reflections on Readers' Letters"—capitalization as published]

[Text] The editorial office and I myself have received many letters. The letters argue. In some, the author is criticized for not exposing sufficiently fully the evil associated with Stalin's personality cult. Others show that some readers are still distrustful of concrete information about "very real crimes on the basis of the abuse of power," as M.S. Gorbachev's report on the 70th anniversary of October put it, and lay the blame for the mass repressions solely on the active parties—Yagoda, Yezhov, Beria, and others. It is my conviction that the reason for this is the fact that many aspects of our country's history from the twenties through the fifties remain totally or almost totally unresearched and "unpublicized." Like the vast majority of social scientists, I consider it necessary to pursue serious scientific research, comprehensive research based on authentic historical documents. And, of course, to make the results of this research available to the broadest public circles. The necessary light was cast on this question by the article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting," published in PRAVDA, which clearly expressed the idea of the existence of conservative resistance to restructuring, the idea that some people still retain firm hopes of a return to the old ways, the command-and-administer style. Glasnost, democratization, and the desire to take an honest look at our successes, failures, and tragedies frighten some people, who see behind it the desire to shake the foundations of socialism, rather than to cleanse socialism of everything that is alien to it, that is simply incompatible with it.

The work of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional study of materials associated with the repressions that took place in the period of the thirties and forties and the early fifties (as you know, a number of prominent political and military leaders of the twenties, thirties, and forties who were subject to repressions have been rehabilitated) has shown the great damage that was done to our party, army, economy, science, and society as a whole. The commission, it has been reported in the press, is continuing its work. More and more crimes committed on direct orders from Stalin are coming to light. "Sometimes it is claimed that Stalin did not know about the instances of lawlessness," the aforementioned speech by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said. "Documents at our disposal indicate that this is not so. The guilt of Stalin and his immediate entourage to the party and people for the mass repressions and lawlessness is enormous and unforgivable. This is a lesson for all generations."

I had no idea my article would attract so much attention, because I do not think I said anything particularly new. All or almost all of it had been published in the "fat" journals and in the daily press. I was only trying to bring together what had been made public and discover who prefers, and why, to close their eyes to the obvious and seeks to resurrect Stalin's personality cult.

Readers rightly note that it was necessary to show in greater depth the contradictory nature of Stalin's personality, his contribution to the struggle for socialism and his gross political errors, his tyranny, his enormous guilt before the party and people. The author, like the vast majority of Soviet people, entirely shares these views. But the positive side of Stalin's political portrait has been given more than enough coverage in the last 20 years, while the other side has tended to be kept quiet. It is no secret that in the years of stagnation an attempt was made to create something of the nature of a Stalin "memory cult" (by way of "foundations" for the Brezhnev cult). Therefore my article was devoted to negative aspects of Stalin's activity, which it has become possible to talk about in the conditions of glasnost.

Many letter-writers express perplexity and indignation that such a person is buried alongside Lenin's Mausoleum, that a monument was erected to him, there is a museum, an embankment and a culture park bear his name... But the most important thing is that his crimes, which were spoken of from a high party platform, have not yet been fully made public, as a result of which many people have no inkling of them.

The opinion that it is wrong to blame everything on Stalin alone, although he bears the main responsibility, is also just. There were the "leader's comrades in arms" and their underlings, who were accomplices in the crimes. Political portraits of some of them have recently received objective coverage in the press. Readers insist that this process should be taken to its logical conclusion.

The majority of letters express the wish for the reasons, the roots of the personality cult to be exposed in greater depth, for fuller coverage of its links with the stagnation of recent years, its ugly manifestations in our own time, and its harmful and dangerous nature for the cause of restructuring. One cannot but agree with these wishes.

It is distressing to read letters from those who advocate preserving the personality cult. Here arguments are replaced by foul language, threats of physical reprisals, and so forth.

A certain N. Altayskaya thinks I am a foreign spy, only she cannot decide for whom—Israel or the United States. Another writer, who hides behind the initials V.V.T., demands that I be thrown into jail or at least thrown out of my job. V. Vlasenko, a student at the Dnepropetrovsk Pedagogical Institute, in a letter full of grammatical mistakes, seeks to prove that socialism existed only under Stalin, and proposes that we once again start exposing the "enemies of the people." Husband and wife V. and L. Belskikh from Tuapse, introducing themselves as "man and wife, historians and lecturers on international affairs, Russian people of the 1937 vintage," sprinkle their letter with language bad enough to make any fishwife blush. It seems they have written two articles fulminating against "Children of the Arbat," and are now demanding their publication, threatening further ructions.

Incidentally, these missives also contain attempts at "theorizing." The aforementioned V.V.T. demands that the USSR Supreme Soviet "impose a ban on the discussion of deaths under Stalin's repressions," because "the repressions justified themselves entirely," since that is the "way to build Soviet power." V. Kvanchatiradze from Sukhumi believes that "the personality cult played a tremendous role in the development of our society," since it made up for the "illiteracy and semiliteracy of our country." V. Borovikov from Yessentuki claims that the millions repressed by Stalin were "former noblemen and Mensheviks, military experts, and technical experts who had made their way into the party and were biding their time until a return to the czarist regime." He is echoed by V. Sapegin from Alma-Ata, who claims that they only repressed "counterrevolutionaries—Trotskyists, bandits, basmaks, and future Vlasovites."

A. Samokrutov from Dushanbe is convinced that "the repressions were predetermined by the very history of socialist building: It was necessary to have cheap manpower to open up Siberia, and the nature of those regions is such that nobody would go there for any money, and therefore a mighty apparatus was created to send millions of our citizens there. Fools say: innocent citizens. What does that have to do with it? It was necessary!"

The universal method in such letters is to identify one's own views with the convictions of EVERYONE who lived under Stalin. Hence the false accusation against the author, that he is coming out "against all people of pensionable age." An absurd accusation, since it is clear from the article that the author himself has long since passed pensionable age and can hardly come out against himself.

In fact the article was about exactly the opposite: the impermissibility of automatically counting every veteran among the supporters of the "cult," and attributing their views to the entire Soviet people. The student's letter mentioned above shows that attitudes to the personality cult are determined not by age, but by ideology.

Unfortunately, similar reproaches were also to be found in some letters from elderly people who were opposed to the personality cult. This means that the author did not succeed in conveying his ideas to every reader. I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate: I have great respect for those who built the Dneproges and Magnitka, who defended the country on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, and who restored the national economy after the victory over fascism, and I am categorically opposed to any unsubstantiated accusations whatever against war and labor veterans, irrespective of the attitude of any particular individual to the personality cult (I simply believe that some of them are inadequately informed on this score, and their positive attitude to the "cult" will doubtless give way to a negative attitude when they learn the truth, the whole truth). Equally, I am categorically opposed to wiping out the achievements of socialism and the historic significance of our older generations' feat in labor and combat. And if my article provided food for the wrong conclusions, I am sorry that I was misunderstood.

I was particularly distressed by a collective letter that was signed by, among others, people who are well known in the country (see NEDELYA No 13). Much work was done to collect evidence to compromise the author in purely personal terms, but not on the substance of the matter. Someone supposedly questioned students at the institute where I taught, even the senior student of the year, and "ascertained" that the events described in the article, events of more than 40 years ago, when Molotov went to the institute, allegedly never took place. They refer to the fifties, although the events I mentioned dated from the mid-forties. I called the senior student. He was astonished: Nobody asked him. Perhaps it's a stupid practical joke, he said. But "practical jokes" like that cannot refute the fact that servility applied not only to the "leader," but also to his "comrades in arms," and that the servile mentality which we are trying to shake off today was drummed into us over decades.

An inquiry was even made at the Institute of Military History to as to "ascertain" that there were no directives from above about the war cry "For Stalin!" But how can such things be prescribed by orders? Can people really not know how this was done until very recently? You only have to open NEDELYA No 50 for 1987 to read in the article by front-line fighter and writer V. Kondratyev how precisely such war cries were "sent down from above." Front-line fighters V. Denisov (Kharkov), Z. Ganago (Riga), V. Merzlyakov (Tomsk), G. Mashkov and V. Rykov (Moscow), N. Shabalin (Tallinn), I. Bemesskiy (Minsk), and many others describe it in even more detail in their letters.

And in any case, was that what the article was about? Whatever words a fighter shouts as he goes into the attack—honor and glory to him! The article was pointing out that it is impermissible to use such war cries as a justification for a cult of Stalin's memory.

And the whole letter is in the same vein. The author of the article "The Truth and Nothing But the Truth" writes that for some front-line fighters "Stalin's name was and has remained a kind of memorial combat banner"—he is accused of "cynical ideas about the combat Red Banner." The author writes about the present-day champions of the personality cult and opponents of restructuring—he is accused of numbering all party, war, and labor veterans among the latter. The author speaks of "a small percentage of supporters of the personality cult among pensioners"—he is accused of numbering among the opponents of restructuring...60 million pensioners...

There are outright accusations that the author "basically represents the entire older generation as bitter enemies of the renewal of society," "makes no secret of his hostility toward the older generation," and, into the bargain, allegedly "offers no new view on the course of restructuring." As for the first, I have already mentioned that, as a representative of the older generation, the author can hardly "make a secret of hostility"...toward himself. As for the last, if the bearers of unsubstantiated "charges" not only wrote letters to NEDELYA, but actually read it from time to time (as well as other press organs), they would repeatedly have found the sought-for "new view," in the author's own articles, among others.

Well, let us suppose the author is beneath all criticism. But what about the Stalin cult? This is what they say: "We are, of course, not about to argue with Bestuzhev-Lada about the Stalin cult, on which (?!) his article is essentially based." It later emerges that the senders of the letter share the party's negative assessment of the personality cult. So why the dispute? Of course, conducting a well argued dispute is difficult. It is far easier to make personal attacks and use the familiar labels (like "adventurism," and so forth).

But let us return to the subject of our discussion.

Many letters ask: Why dig into events of half a century ago, is it not better to concentrate on today's problems? But the letters contain the answer too: No, that would not be better, because this is not only about the past, it is mainly and above all about the present.

No, the past must not be forgotten! Because social justice includes the memory of millions of decent people's lives maimed and ruined. But we must not forget about the future, either. The inevitability of retribution—that is the best way to prevent crime, including crimes based on the abuse of power. And if everyone is to know that retribution is inevitable, what we need first and foremost is retribution for crimes already permitted—the resolute exposure of these crimes.

But most important of all is the present! On taking up arms against the personality cult, we come up against a social phenomenon whose traces still persist among us; restructuring presupposes their eradication, but it would be naive to claim that restructuring is already complete. And how can it be completed, if it is not clear to everyone how to make the transition from bureaucratic to democratic centralism?

Yes, there are people at the head of the party and government today who differ radically from those who were there 10 or 50 years ago. But we are now having to restructure structures dating from long ago. We need to know these structures. So it is not a question of digging around in the past—it is shoveling aside the barriers on the path to the future.

The letters confirm the view expressed in the article: For some people who come out in favor of Stalin's "memory cult," this is only a form of protest against what we call the period of stagnation. Well, it is clearly necessary to go into this in greater depth. But that means in greater depth, not all at once, in a single article.

Another question in many letters is: Why does the article link the supporters of the personality cult so firmly with the opponents of restructuring? After all, it is no secret that there are fierce "anti-Stalinists" who are sabotaging restructuring, and conversely, adherents of the personality cult who support restructuring. How can we get to the bottom of this casuistry?

Obviously, with the help of the Leninist methodology for the analysis of such phenomena. Remember, Lenin always used to ask: Who benefits? And depending on the answer, he determined the correlation of forces in the political arena.

We should not close our eyes to the obvious: A struggle is under way in the country. And so it must be, because revolutionary restructuring is under way. If there were no struggle, the restructuring would have been completed long ago. But we can see that there is a struggle. And a fairly intensive one at that.

Its peculiarity is that the opponents of restructuring rarely stand up to be counted: In view of the sentiments of the masses, that would be suicidal. They prefer to operate on the sly. And one of their "sly" weapons is the defense of the personality cult. In this sense one can agree with the writer Yu. Burtin (OKTYABR, 1987, No 8) that it is necessary to distinguish between two "Stalinisms": One is the "domineering bureaucratic," self-interested variety (holding on to your "niche"), served by equally self-seeking professionals—"scientists," "writers," "journalists"; the other is the "grass-roots," spontaneous, selfless variety—that form of protest against stagnation that we mentioned above. But the two "Stalinisms" have a common denominator: That question of Lenin's we have just mentioned.

So, who benefits?

Undoubtedly, first and foremost the bureaucracy, for which restructuring means the end of its sinecures. Thus the two "Stalinisms" are nothing less than the ideological defense of the interests of the opponents of restructuring. So to give truthful information about the past means to serve the vital interests of the "grass-roots" supporters of the Stalin "memory cult," open people's eyes, and help them to discard the myths created by the self-seeking ideologists of the command-and-administer style of life.

And now let us look at the actual content of the aforementioned crimes, bearing in mind first and foremost those that have already been uncovered in more or less detail in the pages of our press and that are most often mentioned in the letters responding to the article "The Truth and Nothing But the Truth."

One of the favorite methods of "cult" supporters of every hue is the cry: Prove it! They used to utter this cry in total confidence that the doors of the archives would remain forever closed, and if a document was ever found, it would never be published. And all at once something happened that was vexatious for the shouters: Restructuring began, and gave rise to glasnost. And just when they were asking mockingly: Have you worked in the archives, published new documents, questioned eyewitnesses?—access to the archives was opened up (true, not yet to everyone, by any means), new documents began to appear, and publications came out based on documentary materials.

In the latest issues of journals and newspapers we read one article after another in precisely this vein. "Blank spots" in the history of the personality cult are beginning to disappear one after another. Presumably this is only the beginning. True, as yet we are seeing almost exclusively current affairs journalism on the front pages. The "heavy artillery" of the academic journals are being brought up rather slowly along the ruts of contemporary social science. But when the "big guns" begin to speak, things will go badly for the falsifiers of history who feel they can take it easy.

Thus it will go very hard, in our view, for teachers of the young like M. Novikov, prorector of the Moscow Physical-Technical Institute, who decides personally which articles it is useful for students to read and which are harmful, and who in a short letter (OGONEK, 1988, No 11) contrived to depict as zealous anticommunists three esteemed scientists and old party members at once, and also to accuse the author of these lines, without any substantiation, of "calling into question all the gains of Soviet power in the period of collectivization and industrialization and in the years of the Great Patriotic War." He will have to study an article that could have been specially written for him, by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Shmelev, "Do Not Dare To Command!" (OKTYABR, 1988, No 2). After this article, all our debates about collectivization can rise to a vastly higher level.

G. Shmelev sets forth in documentary form the main ins and outs of the collectivization of agriculture. How it went until April 1929, how after that the Leninist principles of the process were grossly violated, which led to the undermining of the country's agriculture and a fall of as much as one-fourth in agricultural production and more than one-half in livestock raising, with the subsequent mass famine.

The scale of the crimes is also defined: Between one-eighth and one-sixth of the 25 million peasant farms which then existed were "dekulakized"—calculate for yourself what that means in terms of the number of living souls rendered half-dead or dead, out of the country's peasant population of nearly 150 million. It is known how the "dekulakization" took place of very ordinary peasants, the vast majority of whom, on such a scale, were not, of course, kulaks: the confiscation of homes and all property, the exile of families—often in freightcars without food, the death of a considerable proportion of children and old people, forced hard labor for an indefinite term, from which many adults died. The number of victims ran into millions. The millions who died of hunger in the villages must be added to that.

I have just reread the tragic account by the brother of our great poet A. Tvardovskiy on the sufferings of the "dekulakized" (YUNOST, 1988, No 3). Horror and indignation are not enough. We need to study the causes and consequences.

Many questions remain.

For instance, why did Stalin suddenly decide on this step in April 1929? Who were his comrades in arms? It is clear that the article "Dizzy With Success" was purely a tactical maneuver. But why was it decided to continue this pernicious policy, even when its disastrous nature had become apparent? That is for the researchers to answer.

Another question is that of the relationship between collectivization and industrialization.

For a long time it was dinned into us that the former was determined by the need to accelerate the latter. But did one promote the other? What could the real intensification of agriculture offer industry? Manpower? But considerable unemployment existed—overt in the cities and concealed in the countryside. Grain? (To export for currency, for instance, for the purchase of industrial equipment.) But before 1929 the country was fully supplied and was exporting 150 million poods of grain. And after, there was the famine (rationing was lifted only in 1935), and exports fell disastrously. Of course, industrialization continued, but did the events of 1929-1933 help? These questions too await an answer.

Much material has also appeared in the press about the terror of the thirties. From this material it is once again possible to form some impression of both the scale and the nature of the crimes. As for the scale, judging by the available data, the total number of people who were repressed and died in 1935-1953 is not much lower than the number who were "dekulakized" and died of starvation in 1929-1933.

As for the nature of the crimes, this was spoken of clearly in one of the reports of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission which we have already cited: "Investigations...were carried out with gross violations of socialist legality, they were falsified, and confessions were obtained from the accused by impermissible methods."

Some of the "impermissible methods" have also now emerged. For instance, the threat to torture and kill the children of the arrested person.

In principle the "machinery" of terror is more or less clear. In detail, it is the same as for "dekulakization": a directive from above threatening retribution for noncompliance, "rivalry" among those carrying out the directive at every level, from the center and oblast level to the rayon and enterprise, with the main task being not to lag behind your neighbors, but to outdo them (remember Tvardovskiy's phrase: "A blind, outrageous verdict, for the sake of a round number"), and finally the settling of personal scores or self-seeking calculations (to secure the victim's job, property, living accommodation) in the localities. The overall result—a snowballing process which apparently had to be restrained from time to time so that it did not become universal.

But there are as many questions here as about the 1929-1933 period.

It is clear, for instance, that the scale of the terror exceeded many times everything that was needed to consolidate Stalin's position after the failures of 1929-1933. In other words, it was in every respect irrational (even from the viewpoint of Stalin's personal interests). So why did he allow it to happen, entailing a mortal risk to himself in 1941, although he had every opportunity to prevent it and to restrict the repressions to a scale many times smaller (with the same results, in general terms, for himself)?

References to the instability of his mental makeup do not explain everything, since there are grounds for believing that Stalin's mental makeup, for all its "turbulences," was within normal limits, as the expression goes, and did not differ greatly from the mental makeup of his numerous "comrades in arms." What other causes were there? That is for the historians, sociologists, and psychologists to answer.

And another question: Why did the dynamic of terror in 1935-1953 take the form that we see, with all its "surges," "peaks" (1937), "waves," and so forth? We know from published materials and literary works that Stalin participated personally in interrogations, approved lists of people sentenced to death by shooting, and made his retinue stamp them.

Thus the process was apparently under strict control from above. Nonetheless it is well known that those who executed Stalin's instructions, those men who were tried and tested over the years, who were devoted to him blindly, like dogs, and who headed the NKVD—G. Yagoda and N. Yezhov—were arrested one after the other and shot not at once, but a number of years later, and on the same list as "enemies of the people" like N. Bukharin or M. Tikhachevskiy. What was this? A "diversionary maneuver" in the spirit of the article "Dizzy With Success," or an attempt to "correct the course" of the process? More and more questions demanding research into individual components of the "machinery" of terror.

More and more publications are appearing about Stalin as a political and military leader on the eve of and during the Great Patriotic War. I refer to such items as, for instance, those by A. Todorskiy (OGONEK, 1987, No 26), A. Adamovich (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 1988, No 9), S. Rostovskiy and Ernst Genri (DRUZHBA NARODOV, 1988, No 3), and others. In these items we read about the split caused in the antifascist movement in Europe by Stalin's move to turn Communists against Social Democrats as supposed "accomplices of fascism," which Hitler took advantage of in the struggle for power; about the physical annihilation of the Comintern leadership and the disorganization of European communist parties; about the treacherous policy toward the antifascists after the conclusion of the nonaggression pact with Hitler, which further exacerbated the position of the European communist parties; about the physical annihilation of the top command personnel of the Red Army; about the grossly erroneous deployment of Soviet troops, who were rashly brought up to the border in such a way that the army was, so to speak, "set up" for a surprise strike by the enemy, although those military professionals who survived had proposed in vain a sensible deployment for the conditions; about the total disregard for

important warnings of the coming attack; about his self-isolation in the Kuntsevo dacha in the first 10 days of the war, when the front collapsed, whole armies were surrounded and perished, and people waited in vain for orders from the leader (those who heard his 3 July 1941 radio speech remember the condition he was in: It was perceptible even over the radio); about erroneous, "willful" decisions contrary to the recommendations of military professionals, which led to a number of disastrous consequences for the course of military operations in 1941-1942; about the desire to "accelerate" the planned operations so as to "be in time" for a speech on the occasion of some calendar date, which entailed colossal additional losses; about unjustified repressions of command personnel throughout the war, which also led to negative consequences; and much more.

For all that, we must not forget that Stalin did play a certain positive role in the days of war that followed the "Kuntsevo interlude": He maintained the strictest discipline in the management activity of the generals and economic leaders, and that is by no means insignificant.

It is our conviction that it is just as wrong to depict Stalin as a madman who knew nothing about military matters, as it is to portray him as a professional soldier capable of skillfully planning and carrying out military operations (his was an entirely different profession).

The usual view of Stalin the military leader is associated with myths of the military commander as a father figure to whom the staff officers bring a readymade map with the operation drawn on it, and who only issues orders and hands out reprimands for blunders. No, the profession of general is one of the most difficult in the world. Remember how Zhukov, Vasilevskiy, and other real military leaders (as opposed to the ones who were "for show," who soon had to be relegated to a secondary role) spent days on end, without rest, poring over the map, where the fate of armies and whole states depended on their every decision.

This is a complex science and a high art, and demands both talent and professionalism, requiring many years of special training. No political leader can acquire anything of the kind suddenly, "just like that," whatever shoulder straps he dons—just as, for instance, a military professional may be an ignoramus in political or economic activity. There have been examples of that too.

The above once again confirms the view that Stalin's role as political and military leader in the thirties and forties is only just beginning to be uncovered, and solid research will be needed before it is revealed in all its complexity.

Incidentally, this applies not only to Stalin, but to the entire history of our country in past decades. The need to move the debates on questions like this onto a footing of research, a documentary, conceptual footing—that is the imperious demand of the time in the conditions of restructuring and glasnost.

And the essence of the article "The Truth and Nothing But the Truth" was, in fact, to substantiate that view.

But the question we are considering is much broader.

Can you substitute for the history of the people of any country, including the Soviet Union, the history of the right or wrong decisions, merits, or crimes of a particular statesman—never mind whether it is Stalin or anyone else—as the authors of some of the letters do? Or, in other words, can you bind the lives of people of the older generation firmly and solely to the activity of the "leader"? (This, incidentally, is basically what the authors of the aforementioned collective letter try to do.)

No, you cannot. It is impermissible. Because it is not scientific. And because it is immoral. Because here we have the source of the ideology of the personality cult, which did so much harm, caused so much trouble to our country and the entire cause of socialism.

No, it was not Stalin who "found Russia with a wooden plow, and left it with nuclear weapons," as one letter says. It was the people who led Russia out of its backwardness, who carried out the industrialization of the country by means of heroic labor under the Communist Party's leadership. And the successes in this area would have been more substantial had it not been for Stalin's adventurist departure from the Leninist principles of collectivization of agriculture, had it not been for his "willful" decisions in the economy and politics, with their truly catastrophic consequences. It was not Stalin who "won the war," as some people naively believe to this day. The people won victory in the war. Under the party's leadership. Through heroism without precedent in history. At the cost of colossal sacrifices, which could have been considerably less had it not been for Stalin's gross political errors, which were possible in the conditions of tyranny engendered by his personality cult.

It is immoral to attempt to discredit the people's achievements in the years and decades of Soviet power with Stalin's crimes. It is immoral to try to revive Stalin's "methods" by pinning shameful labels on people who, together with all the Soviet people, seek various constructive means of resolving the problems facing us. It is no accident that in the years of restructuring the party associates the concept of socialism more and more with the concept of a morality that excludes any form of tyranny. Because immorality justifies tyranny, and tyranny generates an evil which, if not eradicated, is capable of destroying society, destroying socialism.

Just one more example.

Among the hundreds of responses to my article, there was another collective letter, playfully signed "Great Patriotic War participants Petya B., Serega K., Grisha K., Sasha G., Viktor D." The signatories call themselves

"the heirs of Stalin," and make the threatening demand: "Write a refutation of your article, or else we will deal with you, without witnesses. We are giving you a month."

So there they are—the "arguments" of immorality and tyranny, with which Stalin's personality cult began. In this respect the authors of the letter are indeed the "heirs of Stalin," the heirs of Beria.

If you take this letter seriously, it appears that I will be just another victim of the Stalinist terror which began nearly 60 years ago. Hopefully, the last. But can that change the historical facts which we now know, and put an end to the insight that people have begun to gain and that is presumably irreversible? No, of course not.

Restructuring means more glasnost. More glasnost means more democracy. More democracy means more socialism. In this sense, assessing the past correctly means looking more confidently toward the future.

## Economic

### Goskomstat Report on Jan-Mar Plan Fulfillment

*PM261009 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Second Edition pp 1-3*

[USSR State Committee for Statistics report: "Reinforcing Restructuring With Practical Deeds. On the Results of the Fulfillment of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in the 1st Quarter of 1988"—boldface as published]

[Text] I. General Economic Indicators of the National Economy's Development [section subhead]

Since the beginning of 1988, the country's working people have ensured further growth of social production and its efficiency, and enhancement of the people's prosperity.

The coming into force of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the transition of many enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing created conditions for expanding their independence and enhancing their responsibility for the results of their activity, and galvanized the work by labor collectives.

The basic indicators of the country's economic and social development **in the 1st quarter of 1988** are characterized by the following figures (growth in percentages):

| | 1st quarter of 1988 against actual level in 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|
| Produced national income | 4 |
| Industrial output | 5.0 |
| Commissioning funded by state centralized capital investments and by resources from enterprises' and organizations' funds: | |
| fixed capital | 5.2 |
| housing | 5 |
| State capital investments centralized and funded by resources from enterprises' and organizations' funds | 5.2 |
| Freight shipments (consignments) by all types of transportation for general use | 4.0 |
| Passenger turnover on all types of transportation for general use | 4.0 |
| Labor productivity: | |
| in industry | 5.4 |
| in construction industry | 8.9 |
| in railroad transport | 10.1 |
| Number of workers and employees | 0.3 |
| Wages fund in the national economy | 4.5 |
| Average monetary wage of workers and employees | 4.0 |
| Remuneration of kolkhoz members | 3 |
| Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds | 5.3 |
| Retail trade turnover in state and cooperative trade (in actual prices) | 5.6 |
| Paid services to the population | 13.8 |
| Foreign trade turnover (in actual prices) | 8.2 |
| Profit in the national economy | 11.8 |

Compared with the 1st quarter of last year, social labor productivity increased 4 percent, and **the entire growth** of the national income produced was secured on this basis.

Industrial output increased by R11 billion, and the planned volume growth was achieved.

Commissioned fixed capital funded by state centralized capital investments and resources from enterprises' and organizations' funds totaled more than R0.9 billion.

At the same time, lagging was allowed to build up in the implementation of plan targets for many indicators. There are still instances of breaches of contract commitments for industrial output deliveries. The machine building complex failed to fulfill state orders for many types of output. The manufacture of a number of consumer goods was less than planned. Several regions allowed a decline of the production and purchases of stock raising products. The goods turnover target was not fully met.

The USSR's foreign trade turnover amounted to R31.6 billion and, compared with the 1st quarter of 1987, increased 8.2 percent. The proportion of ministries and departments which have been given the right of direct access to the world market amounted to 18 percent in the total volume of exports and 30 percent of imports.

II. Intensification of Social Production [section subhead]

**Scientific and technical progress.** An amount of R6.7 billion was spent on the retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, this being 7 percent more than in the corresponding period of last year. More than one-half of the total volume of capital funds invested for this purpose was provided from enterprises' and organizations' own resources.

Industry installed about 1,500 mechanized flow, automated, rotary, and rotary conveyor lines and more than 2,000 metal cutting machine tools with digital program control.

There was an improvement in the indicators for the technical standard of a number of production processes (in percentages):

| | 1st Quarter of 1987 | 1st Quarter of 1988 |
|---|---|---|
| **Fuel and Energy Complex** | | |
| Proportion of electricity generation by AES's in the total of electricity generated | 11.6 | 13.6 |
| Proportion of oil extracted through application of modern methods for boosting oil recovery rates in total oil extraction | 4.7 | 5.7 |
| **Metallurgy Complex** | | |
| Proportion in total steel smelting represented by: oxygen converter and electric steel | 46.6 | 47.2 |
| Steel produced on continuous billet casting machines | 15.6 | 16.6 |
| **Chemical and Timber Industry Complex** | | |
| Proportion of synthetic fibers and yarns in the total volume of output of chemical fibers and yarns | 58.9 | 60.5 |
| Proportion of lighter-weight newsprint in the total volume of newsprint production | 53.6 | 60.4 |
| **Construction Industry Complex** | | |
| Proportion of cement produced from clinker using the "dry" method in the total volume of cement production | 15.6 | 17.1 |

There was an increase in deliveries of high-power tractors and other production equipment to agriculture. At the same time, the operational reliability of a number of units fails to meet modern demands.

The production of about 800 new types of industrial output was assimilated and started.

The renewal of machine building output is described by the following figures:

**Proportion of output assimilated for the first time in the USSR as percentage of the volume of commodity production**

| | 1988 Plan | 1st quarter of 1988, actual | Actual in 1st quarter of 1987,for reference purposes |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Machine Building Complex** | 9.2 | 7.0 | 2.5 |
| USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building | 12.7 | 10.6 | 3.0 |
| USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry | 10.0 | 6.8 | 2.6 |
| USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building | 14.6 | 13.6 | 4.8 |
| USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry | 8.5 | 8.3 | 3.4 |
| USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems | 8.6 | 7.8 | 3.1 |
| USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry | 8.0 | 3.9 | 1.9 |
| USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building | 7.9 | 6.1 | 2.3 |
| USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building | 6.5 | 8.1 | 0.4 |

Enterprises' 1st quarter plans for deliveries of new equipment included in state orders were fulfilled 86 percent. There were shortfalls in output deliveries by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry.

Ties with socialist countries were activated in the course of the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, and 60 joint collectives, laboratories, science and production associations, and international organizations were set up. But individual targets for the development and assimilation of the manufacture of means for the comprehensive automation of, and application of electronics in, production processes are not being met. Enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry have not begun the manufacture of new models of turning and boring lathes and of semiautomatic vertical multispindle lathes.

There were output deliveries on the basis of developments by intersector science and technology complexes, including antifriction products from powder materials for the oil and gas industry (USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building) and liquid chromatographs using laser refractometric detectors (USSR Academy of Sciences).

Capital investment funds for the construction of trial and experimental bases, laboratory test centers, and other projects within intersector science and technology complexes are not fully utilized.

**Output quality.** Since January 1988, the number of industrial associations and enterprises where state acceptance of output has been introduced increased to 2,200. During March, the state acceptance system rejected 8 percent of output worth a total of R1.3 billion on first submission; the total amount of output finally rejected since the beginning of the year reached R18 million. The proportion of articles rejected on first submission was especially high at enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building.

**Utilization of production potential.** The number of workers in shops on multishift working increased by 320,000 or 2.5 percent compared with last year. There were about 112,000 units of equpment and 1.4 million square meters of production area released, more than one-half of which were used for the siting of advanced equipment, with one-third used for improving labor conditions and organizing the manufacture of consumer goods.

On the whole, work on the transition of enterprises to multishift working is progressing slowly. There has been no success in achieving a fundamental breakthrough in equipment utilization, the shift coefficient of equipment remains low, and idle time remains high.

Serious shortcomings persist in the assimilation of newly commissioned and reconstructed capacities.

**Resource savings.** Savings in the national economy amounted to about 5 million tonnes of standard fuel and 0.5 million tonnes of rolled ferrous metal products, with about 40 million gigacalories of secondary fuel resources being utilized.

Coal and gas supplies to consumers were ensured, and the distribution of electricity and heat and the delivery of fuel to TETS's by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification were within the set limits.

**Utilization of labor resources.** The national economy employed 128.4 million workers, employees, and kolkhoz members (against 128.1 million in the 1st quarter of last year). **The process of net release of workforce was noticeably accelerated** in the production sectors: The numerical strength of the workforce in industry, transport, and the construction industry was reduced by 0.4 million during the 1st quarter. Jobs were found for released workers in other organizations and sectors, including the sphere of services for the population, where the entire growth of the workforce occurred.

More than 70 percent of all jobs have undergone certification by now. But the measures envisaged on the basis of the work done so far are being implemented only slowly: Only 1 job in 16 is being rationalized annually, with less than 2 percent of jobs being eliminated as failing to meet modern demands.

Cooperatives employed 0.2 million people during the 1st quarter (15,000 during the 1st quarter of last year). Some 0.4 million citizens were engaged in individual labor activity.

**Improvement of management and the economic mechanism.** Starting in January 1988, more than 76,000 associations, enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and organizations employing about 51 million people operated in conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing. They account for more than 60 percent of industrial and agriculturtal output, 100 percent of services provided by communications industry enterprises, 97 percent of retail trade, and 37 percent of the volume of contractual work. Some 88 percent of transportation enterprises and more than one-half of consumer services enterprises operate in conditions of self-financing this year.

During the 1st quarter, the performance of contract commitments for output deliveries by industrial associations and enterprises working in conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing reached 99.3 percent, this being somewhat better than in the remaining enterprises. Labor productivity growth during this period (6.6 percent) was considerably greater than for the other enterprises in the sector (4.2 percent).

At the same time, the potential of the new economic mechanism is still not sufficiently fully utilized. There are instances of targets being set in violation of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). Enterprises' initiative is fettered by shortcomings in material and technical supplies. Many ministries fail to give the necessary practical assistance to enterprises in their work in the new conditions and in the introduction of intra-enterprise economic accountability. Cadres in many enterprises have proved unprepared to meet the demands of economic accountability.

III. Development of Material Production [section subhead]

Industry [main subhead]

The 1st quarter saw an improvement in the fulfillment of **contract commitments** for output deliveries in line with

state orders and along direct lines based on contracts with consumers. Commitments were fulfilled 99.2 percent against 97.8 percent in the 1st quarter of last year and 98.3 percent during last year as a whole. Contract discipline was breached by 11 percent of associations and enterprises (20 percent in the 1st quarter of 1987, 23 percent in 1987). Shortfalls in output deliveries amounted to R1.5 billion (R3.8 billion in the 1st quarter of 1987).

**The production of industrial output** rose 5.0 percent. **Labor productivity** growth was 5.4 percent. The entire output growth was secured through higher labor productivity with a net reduction of the number of workers.

**Profits increased.** The profits plan was fulfilled by the sector as a whole and by all its complexes except the machine building complex.

The indicators of activity by national economic **complexes, ministries, and departments** in the 1st quarter of 1988 are as follows (in percentages) [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Percentage fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—Percentage of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—Labor productivity growth rate compared with the 1st quarter of 1987; Column D—Growth rate of volume of output (works, services) compared with the 1st quarter of 1987]:

| | A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fuel and Energy Complex** | 99.6 | 20 | 5.4 | 3.8 |
| USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification | 98.1 | 35 | 2.7 | 0.8 |
| (Footnote) (Figures in columns A and B exclude electricity producing enterprises) | | | | |
| USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry | 99.8 | 14 | 5.7 | 2.1 |
| USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry | 100 | Nil | 11.8 | 10.3 |
| USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry | 99.5 | 25 | 6.3 | 5.5 |
| **Metallurgy Complex** | 99.4 | 18 | 6.8 | 4.1 |
| USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy | 99.3 | 24 | 7.9 | 5.0 |
| USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy | 99.8 | 11 | 4.8 | 2.5 |
| **Machine Building Complex** | 98.8 | 33 | 8.5 | 7.3 |
| USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building | 98.6 | 52 | 9.5 | 8.6 |
| USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry | 97.6 | 46 | 10.8 | 9.5 |
| USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building | 98.4 | 33 | 10.7 | 10.9 |
| USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry | 98.7 | 30 | 5.2 | 4.5 |
| USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems | 98.7 | 23 | 12.0 | 9.7 |
| USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry | 99.5 | 30 | 6.0 | 4.9 |
| USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building | 99.2 | 25 | 6.7 | 5.3 |
| USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building | 98.9 | 48 | 13.0 | 12.2 |
| **Chemical Industry and Timber Complex** | 99.0 | 28 | 7.6 | 5.2 |
| USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry | 99.4 | 27 | 11.9 | 4.1 |
| USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry | 98.3 | 29 | 10.6 | 8.5 |
| USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers | 99.1 | 13 | 5.7 | 3.7 |
| USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry | 99.6 | 9 | 6.9 | 5.9 |
| USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry | 98.7 | 34 | 7.9 | 5.0 |
| **Agro-Industrial Complex** | 99.8 | 6 | 3.4 | 2.6 |
| USSR Gosagroprom | 99.8 | 7 | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry | 99.6 | 8 | 6.1 | 3.9 |
| USSR Ministry of Grain Products | 99.8 | 4 | 0.6 | 1.4 |
| **Social Complex** (USSR Ministry of Light Industry) | 99.3 | 13 | 6.8 | 5.3 |

**Construction Industry Complex** (USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry)
99.3
13
8.1
5.5

Data on industry's work in the 1st quarter of 1988 by **union republics** (including industry under union jurisdiction) is cited below (in percentages) [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Percentage fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—Percentage of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—Labor productivity growth rate compared with the 1st quarter of 1987; Column D—Growth rate of volume of output (works, services) compared with the 1st quarter of 1987]:

| | A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RSFSR | 99.1 | 12 | 6.2 | 4.7 |
| Ukrainian SSR | 99.2 | 9 | 6.4 | 5.6 |
| Belorussian SSR | 99.9 | 3 | 6.9 | 7.2 |
| Uzbek SSR | 99.1 | 11 | -1.3 | -0.1 |
| Kazakh SSR | 99.5 | 8 | 5.3 | 4.8 |
| Georgian SSR | 99.2 | 11 | 4.9 | 3.8 |
| Azerbaijan SSR | 99.2 | 15 | 4.3 | 4.0 |
| Lithuanian SSR | 99.9 | 2 | 5.2 | 4.3 |
| Moldavian SSR | 99.4 | 8 | 5.4 | 4.9 |
| Latvian SSR | 99.3 | 5 | 10.0 | 7.4 |

| | A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kirghiz SSR | 99.2 | 10 | 8.4 | 8.2 |
| Tajik SSR | 99.2 | 16 | 6.6 | 7.7 |
| Armenian SSR | 98.5 | 17 | 4.1 | 4.3 |
| Turkmen SSR | 98.9 | 10 | 4.7 | 3.8 |
| Estonian SSR | 99.7 | 5 | 5.6 | 3.5 |

The work of national economic complexes in the 1st quarter of 1988 is characterized by the following figures:

Fuel and Energy Complex [subhead]

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as fulfillment percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours | 468 | 100.9 | 103 |
| Oil (including gas condensate), million tonnes | 156 | 101 | 102 |
| Gas, billion cubic meters | 197 | 103 | 108 |
| Coal, million tonnes | 202 | 104 | 103 |

The production of oil, including gas condensate, was 2 million tonnes above the set target, gas production was 5.5 billion cubic meters above target, and coal production was 7.5 million tonnes above target including 3 million tonnes of coking coal. At the same time a number of the complex's associations and enterprises did not meet the targets set for the extraction of fuel and energy resources, which prevented contractual commitments from being met in full. They include the "Stavropolneftegaz" and "Azneft" Production Associations of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry and the "Stakhanovugol" Production Association of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry. The complex as a whole had a shortfall of output worth R49 million including R27 million due to enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry.

Metallurgy Complex [subhead]

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Steel, million tonnes | 41.0 | 101 | 102 |
| Rolled ferrous metal products (finished), million tonnes | 29.1 | 101 | 104 |
| Steel pipes, million tonnes | 5.1 | 101 | 105 |
| Iron ore, million tonnes | 62.5 | 102 | 102 |

The state target for the production of finished rolled metal and steel pipes has been fulfilled. However, the production of such highly efficient types of metal output as rolled metal made from low-alloy steel, cold-rolled sheet metal, high impact pump and compressor pipes, and a number of others was less than the planned target.

As a result contractual commitments to customers were not fully met. The greatest shortfall was incurred by the Makeyevskiy metallurgical combine (fulfillment of contractual commitments was 92.1 percent), and the "Zaporozhstal" Metallurgical Combine (94.8 percent); and the Uzbek metallurgical plant (95.9 percent), and the "Dneprospetsstal" Plant (93 percent).

Nonferrous metallurgical enterprises fulfilled the targets for the main types of output on the state order product list.

Since the beginning of the year the shortfall across the metallurgy complex as a whole has been R108 million.

Machine Building Complex [subhead]

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Generators and turbines, million kilowatts | 3.6 | 100.9 | 154 |
| Large electric machines, thousands | 6.3 | 94 | 103 |
| Special, specialized, and aggregate metal-cutting machine tools,thousands | 12.4 | 104 | 97 |
| Metal cutting machine tools, with digital program control, thousands | 5.3 | 108 | 102 |
| Forging and pressing machines, with digital program control, items | 446 | 118 | 117 |
| Instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts, billion rubles | 1.3 | 102 | 108 |
| Medical equipment and spare parts, million rubles | 237 | 107 | 111 |
| Computer equipment and spare parts, billion rubles | 1.4 | 106 | 116 |
| Milling equipment million rubles | 59.1 | 95 | 131 |
| Petroleum apparatus, million rubles | 70.1 | 99.1 | 113 |

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chemical equipment and spare parts, million rubles | 260 | 98 | 111 |
| Tractors, million horsepower | 13.5 | 99 | 100.9 |
| Agricultural machines, billion rubles | 1.0 | 99.2 | 101 |
| Machines and equipment for stockraising and feed production, million rubles | 731 | 100 | 106 |
| Excavators, thousands | 10.7 | 99.4 | 108 |

The work of the machine building complex has improved somewhat—the level of contract discipline has risen and the production of metal-cutting and power industry equipment, computer equipment, and a number of other types of output has increased considerably compared with the 1st quarter of last year.

At the same time in many areas the state order's targets have not been fulfilled and across the complex as a whole the output supply shortfall amounted to R286 million.

Targets for milling equipment, AC electric motors, large electric machines, certain types of cable output, and chemical and petroleum industry equipment were not met.

There were large shortfalls in output deliveries at the following production associations: the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry's "Sredazkabel" (where contractual commitment fulfillment was 90.5 percent); "Khemz" (92.9 percent); and the "Minusinskiy Elektrotekhnicheskiy Promyshlennyy Kompleks" (84.6 percent); the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building's "Kurganarmkhimmash" Production Association (90.6 percent); and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building's "Altayskiy Traktornyy Zavod" (94.6 percent); and "Belotserkovskiy Zavod Selskokhozyaystvennogo Mashinostroyeniya" (91.9 percent).

Machine building enterprises failed to ensure reciprocal supplies of components on time. More than 40 percent of the monthly production of individual types of output arrived in the final working days of the month.

Chemical Industry and Timber Complex [subhead]

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mineral fertilizers (in 100-percent nutrient equivalent), million tonnes | 9.3 | 102 | 104 |
| Chemical plant protection agents (in 100-percent active ingredient equivalent) thousand tonnes | 85.4 | 102 | 97 |
| Sulfuric acid, million tonnes | 7.6 | 99.1 | 105 |
| Caustic soda, thousand tonnes | 845 | 98 | 102 |
| Chemical fibers and yarns, thousand tonnes | 399 | 103 | 104 |
| Tires for trucks, millions | 7.0 | 101 | 104 |
| Tires for cars, millions | 5.9 | 103 | 107 |
| Tires for agricultural machines, millions | 3.1 | 100.3 | 101 |
| Medicines, million rubles | 870 | 100.8 | 105 |
| Commercial timber, (excluding kolkhoz timber procurements), million trimmed cubic meters | 112 | 102 | 101 |
| Paper, million tonnes | 1.6 | 102 | 105 |
| of which newsprint, billion square meters | 9.4 | 103 | 105 |

The production of progressive construction plastics, synthetic fibers and yarns, radial tires, fiberglass, and fiberglass products has increased. However, shortcomings in the activity of a number of enterprises and associations affected the results of work by the complex's sectors. For example, the backlog incurred by the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers' Balakovskiy chemical plant led to the nonfulfillment of the quarter's targets for the production of sulfuric acid across the sector as a whole, the backlog due to the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry's Ziminskiy chemical plant led to the nonfulfillment of the quarter's targets for the production of PVC [polyvinylchloride] resins, the shortfall by that ministry's "Organicheskiy Sintez" Production Association in Sumgait prevented the fulfillment of the polyethylene target, and the debt owed by the same ministry's "Plastik" Production Association in Syzran caused the nonfulfillment of the targets for thermoplastic pipes and pipeline parts, while the shortfall due to the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry's "Krasnyy Treugolnik" Production

Association in Leningrad and the rubber footwear plant in Astrakhan prevented the fulfillment of the quarter's targets for rubber footwear.

The "Sverdlesprom," "Krasnoyarsklesprom," "Irkutsklesprom," and "Dallesprom" Timber Procurement Associations have not been working steadily. Since the beginning of the year those associations have incurred a debt to the national economy of around 0.7 million cubic meters of commercial timber.

The backlog thus created has prevented the fulfillment of contractual commitments. Overall the complex's enterprises had an output supply shortfall of R269 million. The greatest debts to customers are owed by the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry (R94 million), the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry (R85 million), and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry (R54 million).

Industry Within the Construction Industry Complex [subhead]

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cement, million tonnes | 34.4 | 102 | 103 |
| Asbestos cement sheet (shingles), billion standard tiles | 2.2 | 100.4 | 99.7 |
| Asbestos cement pipes and sleeves, thousand km standard pipes | 20.6 | 102 | 102 |
| Soft roofing and insulation materials, million square meters | 506 | 99.5 | 100.8 |
| Window glass, million square meters | 72.8 | 100.8 | 101 |

Over 600,000 tonnes of cement, around 9 million standard tiles of asbestos cement sheet (shingles), and 564,000 square meters of window glass were produced above the target. The 1st quarter's targets for the production of precast ferroconcrete structures and products, walling materials, and individual types of sanitary engineering equipment were fulfilled.

The target for the production of soft roofing and insulating materials has not been fulfilled because of a backlog created by the "Uzbekkrovlya" Combine in Pap (Uzbek SSR) and the Gardabanskiy roofing felt plant (Georgian SSR).

On the whole, since the beginning of the year enterprises in the construction materials industry have had a shortfall of output deliveries measured against contractual commitments worth R23 million.

The fulfillment of the targets for the production of nonfood **consumer goods** is characterized by the following figures:

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton fabrics, billion square meters | 2.0 | 100.4 | 103 |
| Linen, hemp, and jute fabrics, million square meters | 251 | 100.4 | 102 |
| Woolen fabrics, million square meters | 182 | 100.1 | 104 |
| Silk fabrics, million square meters | 536 | 102 | 106 |
| Knitted articles, millions | 475 | 100.2 | 103 |
| Hosiery, million pairs | 533 | 101 | 105 |
| Sewn goods, billion rubles | 6.7 | 105 | 100.5 |
| Footwear, million pairs | 211 | 100.2 | 101 |
| Television sets, millions | 2.4 | 100.4 | 122 |
| of which, color sets | 1.4 | 102 | 152 |
| Refrigerators and freezers, millions | 1.6 | 100.6 | 108 |
| Radio receivers, millions | 2.0 | 96 | 103 |
| Tape recorders, millions | 1.4 | 97 | 125 |
| Videorecorders, thousands | 14.8 | 102 | threefold |
| Sewing machines, thousands | 394 | 94 | 108 |
| including "zigzag" type | 252 | 100.6 | 110 |
| Washing machines, millions | 1.5 | 97 | 111 |
| Vacuum cleaners, millions | 1.2 | 96 | 110 |
| Furniture, billion rubles | 2.3 | 101 | 108 |
| Motorcycles, thousands | 254 | 100.3 | 111 |
| Bicycles (excluding children's), millions | 1.4 | 99.4 | 103 |
| Automobiles, thousands | 331 | 100.3 | 99.5 |

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clocks and watches, millions | 18.2 | 101 | 108 |
| Chinaware and earthenware, million rubles | 264 | 103 | 107 |
| High-grade (glass and crystal) tableware, million rubles | 251 | 106 | 115 |
| Wallpaper, million standard lengths | 140 | 102 | 113 |
| Disposable paper products, million rubles | 202 | 104 | 104 |
| Elements and batteries for electrical household articles millions | 243 | 103 | 106 |

Between January and March consumer goods production (excluding alcoholic drinks) amounted to over R80 billion in retail prices, or R5 billion higher than for the corresponding period last year.

The production of highly fashionable articles and new goods with enhanced consumer characteristics rose by a factor of more than 1.5.

At the same time, enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, and some others allowed a backlog to occur in the fulfillment of targets.

Deliveries to consumers were below target by the following amounts: Radio receivers—87,000; tape recorders—42,000; washing machines—44,000; sewing machines—26,000; and vacuum cleaners—44,000.

In the 1st quarter the USSR Ministry of Light Industry had a shortfall in supplies of output and goods in terms of the actual products mix worth R164 million.

Agro-Industrial Complex [main subhead]

Agro-industrial complex industrial enterprises fulfilled the targets for the 1st quarter for the production of foodstuffs. However, there are considerable shortcomings in a number of places in the population's foodstuffs supply.

The production of the main types of **food output** is characterized by the following figures:

| | Produced in 1st quarter of 1988 | Percentage target fulfillment | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meat (from state raw material resources), million tonnes | 3.1 | 108 | 102 |
| Sausage products, thousand tonnes | 955 | 103 | 104 |
| Butter, thousand tonnes | 287 | 113 | 108 |
| Wholemilk produce, in milk equivalent (from state raw material resources), million tonnes | 8.0 | 104 | 103 |
| Full-fat cheese, thousand tonnes | 191 | 105 | 105 |
| Margarine products, thousand tonnes | 433 | 101 | 103 |
| Granulated sugar, million tonnes | 1.5 | 106 | 111 |
| Vegetable oil, million tonnes | 0.9 | 103 | 105 |
| Confectionery products million tonnes | 1.3 | 103 | 104 |
| Canned food, billion standard cans | 3.8 | 107 | 105 |
| of which, fruit and vegetables | 2.5 | 108 | 106 |
| Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes | 1.7 | 112 | 103 |

Industrial enterprises in the Georgian and Azerbaijan SSR's failed to fulfill the meat production target, industrial enterprises in the Tajik SSR failed to meet the target for vegetable oil and butter, and enterprises in the Azerbaijan SSR did not meet the target for wholemilk production.

In the 1st quarter agricultural enterprises produced 5.6 million tonnes of meat (in live weight), or 2 percent more than in the 1st quarter of last year, an extra 17.3 million tonnes of milk (or 5 percent more), and an extra 15.6 billion eggs (6 percent more). Average milk yield per cow rose by 6 percent while the egg yield of laying hens increased by 5 percent.

**Purchases of livestock products** on all categories of farms were as follows:

| | 1st Quarter 1987 | 1988 | 1988 as percentage of 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Livestock and poultry, (live weight, million tonnes) | 5.7 | 5.9 | 103 |
| Milk, million tonnes | 14.5 | 15.3 | 106 |
| Eggs, billions | 14.2 | 15.0 | 106 |

The volume of livestock and poultry purchases in the 1st quarter fell on farms in the Ukrainian SSR, the Georgian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, and the Estonian SSR, and milk purchases were down on farms in the Tajik SSR and Armenian SSR.

All union republics except the Ukrainian SSR achieved the plan target for supplies of livestock products to the all-union stock. The Ukrainian SSR failed to fulfill the meat products plan.

Between January and March 114,300 tonnes of hothouse, greenhouse, and early vegetables were purchased at agricultural enterprises, which is 12,600 tonnes or 10 percent less than for the same period last year. Some 1,500 tonnes of tomatoes, 54,500 tonnes of cucumbers, 900 tonnes of cabbage, and 52,600 tonnes of green crops were purchased. Vegetable purchases fell in all union republics except the Moldavian and Turkmen SSR's.

The preparation of equipment for **spring field** work is drawing to a close. By the beginning of April 92 percent of tractors, 98 percent of tractor plows and cultivators, and 99 percent of seed drills were repaired. However, the repair and preparation of equipment for work is not continuing at the necessary pace everywhere. As a result, by 1 April there were 222,000 tractors including 43,000 high-powered tractors, 203,000 trucks, and 234,000 tractor trailers on the country's farms which were not repaired. There is a high percentage of unrepaired trucks in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Moldavian SSR, a high percentage of unrepaired tractor trailers in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR, a large percentage of unrepaired mineral fertilizer distributors in the RSFSR, the Turkmen SSR, and the Estonian SSR, and the same situation regarding machines for applying organic fertilizers in the RSFSR, the Latvian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR. The repair of feed harvesting equipment is making slow progress.

Contract commitments for the supply of tractors and most types of soil treatment and seeding machines, mineral fertilizers, and chemical feed additives have been fulfilled.

Some 89,000 tractors have been delivered, as have 56,000 tractor plows, 10,000 disk harrows, 55,000 tractor cultivators, 42,000 tractor seeders, and 27,000 mineral and organic fertilizer application machines.

The supply of mineral fertilizers (in terms of 100-percent nutrient equivalent) was 7.2 million tonnes or 153,000 tonnes more than for the same period last year, and the supply of chemical feed additives came to 306,000 tonnes, or 41,000 tonnes more.

However, there was a shortfall in the contract deliveries of nitrogen fertilizers to consumers by the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Armenian SSR's, a shortfall in phosphate fertilizer deliveries in the Ukrainian, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, and Estonian SSR's, and a shortfall in deliveries of potassium fertilizer supplies in the Kazakh, Moldavian, Armenian, and Estonian SSR's.

Farms in 12 union republics have begun **spring sowing**. By 4 April spring crops had been sown over an area of 3.8 million hectares including 2.2 million hectares of grain and pulse crops.

In the agro-industrial complex (including sectors which supply agriculture with the means of production), R10 billion of **capital investments** had been assimilated from all sources of finance, which is 104 percent of the set quota. Capacities have been commissioned for the production of canned fruit and vegetables and meat; facilities have been built for the storage of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit; mechanized depots have been built for the storage of mineral fertilizers, toxic chemicals, and lime materials, and main water conduits for agricultural purposes, elevators, and milling and mixed feed enterprises have been built.

Changes in **the head of livestock and poultry** on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises were as follows (million head):

| | As of 1 April 1987 | 1988 |
|---|---|---|
| Cattle | 98.2 | 96.7 |
| including cows | 29.2 | 28.8 |
| Pigs | 59.9 | 58.1 |
| Sheep and goats | 134.8 | 135.7 |
| Poultry | 785.5 | 793.7 |

Capital Construction [main subhead]

**Fixed capital** worth R17.3 billion was commissioned out of state centralized capital investments and funds of enterprises and organizations.

The Berezovskaya No 1 GRES in Krasnoyarsk Kray and an experimental industrial magnetohydrodynamic power unit in Ryazan Oblast were commissioned. Capacities for coal extraction at the "Sibirginskiy" Opencut Mine in Kemerovo Oblast and for production of synthetic ammonia at Rossosh Chemical Plant in Voronezh Oblast, semiconductor power instruments at the "Elektrovypryamitel" Production Association in Saransk, and oilfield equipment at Sumy Drill Collar and Kelly Plant, more than 3,000 development oil wells, and 3,300 km of power transmission lines at a tension of

35 kilovolts and more were commissioned. Capacities for production of construction materials, structures, products, and consumer goods were increased.

State centralized **capital investments** were assimilated to the tune of R23.2 billion, or 99.6 percent of the quota set for this period. Enterprises and organizations used their own funds to the tune of R10.9 billion, and their share of the volume of capital investments stood at 32 percent, including 28 percent in the fuel and energy complex, 49 percent in the metallurgy complex, 63 percent in the machine building complex, and 64 percent in the chemical industry and timber complex.

The following figures show quota utilization and the growth rate of state centralized capital investments and enterprises' and organizations' funds by **complexes**:

| | Percentage of quota utilization in 1st quarter | 1st quarter of 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|
| Fuel and energy complex | 105 | 113 |
| Metallurgy complex | 99.7 | 92 |
| Machine building complex | 117 | 97 |
| Chemical industry and timber complex | 98 | 109 |
| Agro-industrial complex | 103 | 107 |
| Construction industry complex | 107 | 107 |
| USSR Ministry of Light Industry | 129 | 125 |

The capital investment quotas were assimilated at a low level by the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, the Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR, and the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry.

The volume of **contract work** fulfilled by construction and installation organizations increased 7 percent, and **labor productivity** increased 8.9 percent, with corresponding figures of 7 and 9.5 percent for organizations of the construction industry complex. The contract work plan was fulfilled by 104 percent by construction organizations as a whole. Of the 31 ministries and departments of the construction industry complex, 7 failed to fulfill the plan targets—the Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR, the Ministries of Construction of the Georgian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, the Tajik SSR, the Armenian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR, and the Kirghiz SSR Gosstroy.

Transport and Communications [main subhead]

Freight **consignments** and **freight turnover** on transport for general use are characterized by the following figures:

| | Freight Consigned | | Freight Turnover | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1st quarter of 1988 (million tonnes) | 1st quarter of 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 | 1st quarter of 1988 (billion tonne-km) | 1st quarter 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
| All forms of transport of which: | 3,019 | 104 | 1,985 | 108 |
| Railroad | 1,014 | 107 | 971 | 108 |
| Pipeline | 312 | 104 | 720 | 106 |
| Maritime | 63 | 114 | 258 | 114 |
| Motor vehicle | 1,629 | 102 | 35 | 106 |
| Air | 0.7 | 98 | 0.8 | 99 |

The target for overall freight consignment by railroad transport was fulfilled by 105 percent; for overseas shipments by maritime transport by 104 percent.

Of the 32 railroads, only the West Siberian Railroad failed to cope with the freight consignment plan (by 98 percent); of the 16 maritime shipping companies, the target for overseas shipments was not fulfilled by the Maritime Kray (88 percent), the Murmansk (91 percent), the Sakhalin (94 percent), and the Black Sea (96 percent) Shipping Companies.

**Passenger turnover** on all forms of transport for general use increased 4 percent and totaled 235 billion passenger-kilometers.

Passenger turnover in railroad transport increased 4.6 percent compared with the corresponding period last year, totaling 81.7 billion passenger-kilometers. The plan was fulfilled by 103.9 percent.

Passenger turnover in civil aviation reached 38.1 billion passenger-kilometers, or 5.1 percent more than in January-March last year. The plan with regard to this indicator was fulfilled by 102.4 percent. Of the 32 civil aviation administrations and production associations, the plan was not fulfilled by the East Siberian (95 percent), the Magadan (96 percent), the Yakut (99.7 percent), and the Turkmen (99.9 percent) Administrations, as well as the Central Administration of International Air Communications (98 percent).

Violations of traffic schedules are continuing. Only 79 percent of aircraft (excluding local ones) arrived on schedule (during the 1st quarter of last year—72 percent); the figures for passenger trains (excluding suburban ones) are 89 percent and 84 percent respectively.

The labor productivity of workers involved in railroad transport shipments exceeded the target by 9.6 percent and increased 10.1 percent compared with the 1st quarter of 1987. The prime cost of railroad transport shipments fell 3 percent against the plan, and an above-plan profit of R170 million was made.

An income of R2 billion was received from passengers on general-use buses and in light taxicabs (102 percent of the target and 104 percent of the corresponding period last year). The plan with regard to this indicator was not fulfilled by the Ministries of Motor Transport (Ministries of Motor Transport and Highways) of the Azerbaijan SSR (97 percent), the Lithuanian SSR (99 percent), the Uzbek SSR (99.3 percent), and the Moldavian SSR (99.4 percent).

Sales of **communications** services to the population in the first quarter totaled R893.5 million, or 9.3 percent more than in the corresponding period last year. The plan regarding this indicator was fulfilled by 100.8 percent. In the telephone network of communications enterprises the number of basic telephones as of 1 April had increased by 637,000 sets compared with 1 January 1988.

IV. Social Development and the Growth of the People's Living Standard [section subhead] **The population** stood at 285.2 million people as of 1 April 1988. **Labor remuneration and social consumption funds.** The average monthly monetary wage of workers and employees in the national economy in the 1st quarter of 1988 stood at R210 against R202 in the corresponding period of last year—an increase of 4 percent—while the corresponding figures for the labor remuneration of kolkhoz members in the public sector are R148 against R143 (growth of 3 percent).

The switch to new conditions of labor remuneration is continuing in production sectors. It is practically complete in the Estonian SSR. The Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, and the Central Asian republics are lagging behind the other union republics.

The population received from social consumption funds **payments and benefits** worth more than R40 billion, or R2 billion more than in the 1st quarter of last year.

Pensions for workers, employees, and their families set 10 or more years ago continued to increase. The minimum pensions for kolkhoz members and their families being paid out for at least 10 years were increased as of 1 January 1988.

Measures aimed at improving medical services were implemented. There was an increase in the norms for expenditure on feeding patients and acquiring medical supplies, equipment, and appliances in health care establishments, and the free issuing of medical supplies to treat children under the age of 3 years and other benefits were introduced.

Measures were implemented to improve material supplies for orphan children and children left without parental care.

The population's investments in USSR Savings Bank establishments increased by R8.1 billion during the quarter.

**Provision of goods and services for the population.** Sales of consumer goods and paid services to the population increased 6.5 percent compared with the corresponding period last year.

The volume of **retail commodity turnover** in state and cooperative trade amounted to R86.5 billion and was R4.6 billion higher than in the 1st quarter of 1987 (in actual prices).

In the country as a whole the target regarding the total volume of commodity turnover was not fulfilled to the tune of R527 million. The Belorussian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, the Kirghiz SSR, the Tajik SSR, and the Baltic republics coped with the targets.

Sales of alcoholic beverages were roughly at the level of the 1st quarter of 1987. At the same time, sales of vodka and liquor and vodka products fell 4 percent.

Sales of individual commodities in state andcooperative trade are characterized by the following figures (in comparable prices; billion rubles):

| | Sold in 1st quarter of 1988 | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|
| Meat and meat products | 7.2 | 103 |
| Fish and fish products | 1.3 | 100 |
| Butter | 1.4 | 105 |
| Vegetable oil | 0.4 | 100 |
| Margarine products | 0.4 | 96 |
| Wholemilk products | 2.2 | 103 |
| Cheese | 0.4 | 102 |
| Eggs | 1.3 | 107 |
| Sugar | 1.7 | 110 |
| Confectionery | 2.9 | 104 |
| Tea | 0.5 | 105 |
| Bread products, million tonnes | 9.2 | 98 |
| Potatoes, million tonnes | 1.9 | 95 |
| Vegetables, million tonnes | 1.7 | 99.6 |
| Fruit and citrus fruit, million tonnes | 0.8 | 76 |
| Nonalcoholic beverages, million dekaliters | 87 | 121 |
| Mineral water, million dekaliters | 35 | 117 |
| Fruit and vegetable juices, billion standard cans | 1.3 | 112 |
| Tobacco products | 1.6 | 97 |
| Clothing, linen, and textiles | 9.6 | 100 |
| Knitwear | 3.7 | 99 |
| Hosiery | 0.9 | 110 |
| Footwear | 3.1 | 99 |
| Chinaware, earthenware, and glassware | 0.7 | 107 |
| Soap and detergents | 0.5 | 108 |
| Furniture | 2.2 | 106 |

| | Sold in 1st quarter of 1988 | 1988 as percentage of 1st quarter of 1987 |
|---|---|---|
| Refrigerators and freezers millions | 1.1 | 112 |
| of which, with a capacity of 200 cubic decimeters or more | 0.6 | 112 |
| Washing machines, millions | 1.4 | 115 |
| Vacuum cleaners, millions | 1.0 | 111 |
| Clocks and watches, millions | 14.2 | 107 |
| Cameras, millions | 0.5 | 102 |
| Radio receivers, millions | 1.8 | 96 |
| Television sets, millions | 2.3 | 116 |
| of which, color sets | 1.3 | 138 |
| Tape recorders, millions | 1.5 | 113 |
| Sports equipment, billion rubles | 0.3 | 109 |
| Bicycles and mopeds, millions | 1.1 | 100 |
| Motorcycles and scooters, millions | 0.3 | 108 |
| Cars from current production, thousands | 175 | 96 |
| Timber materials, million cubic meters | 3.9 | 110 |
| Slate, billion standard tiles | 1.3 | 128 |
| Gasoline for motor vehicles, million tonnes | 1.1 | 130 |

Despite the increased flow of meat and dairy products into the trade network, the population's demand for them is not being satisfied.

In a number of urban and rural population centers there are no caramels, candies, pastries, spice cakes, or other confectionery products on sale for long periods. In individual cases the range and quality of bread and bread and flour products do not meet the population's requirements.

The supply of potatoes, fruits, and vegetables to the population was unsatisfactory. Trade in fruit and vegetable products in markets on the part of agricultural enterprises and consumer cooperative organizations did not enjoy the necessary development. As a result, prices are continuing to rise in city kolkhoz markets. Their overall level increased 8 percent compared with the 1st quarter of last year, including 21 percent for potatoes, 2 percent for vegetables, and 18 percent for fruit.

The strain of supplying the population with clothes and footwear is not being eased. Stores have a limited selection of them. The products on sale are not always in public demand owing to obsolete styles and unsatisfactory quality.

The problem of meeting the population's demand for sports and tourist goods is being resolved poorly.

The state of affairs in the trade in simple household goods is improving only slowly. Production of many of them has not been organized in a number of regions, and in this connection the simplest products are frequently brought in from far-flung regions.

Some 30 percent more timber and construction materials were supplied to trade than in the 1st quarter of last year. But the population's demand for them is not being met in full.

The volume of **paid services** rendered to the population totaled R13 billion and increased 13.8 percent compared with the same period last year. The sales plan was fulfilled.

The sphere of such services at enterprises did not enjoy proper development. Of the 46 ministries and departments for which the rendering of services is not their basic activity, only 12 ensured the fulfillment of their sales plan.

Housing, municipal, and transport services account for half the volume of paid services, and consumer services for approximately one-fourth. The population was rendered consumer services to the tune of R3.2 billion. Compared with the analogous period of last year, their volume increased 12.7 percent. The plan was fulfilled by 101.1 percent. The Uzbek SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Tajik SSR, the Armenian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR lagged behind the plan. The plan for sales of consumer services in rural localities was fulfilled by 100.8 percent.

**Housing and sociocultural construction.** A total area of 12.9 million square meters of apartment blocks was commissioned, including 2.9 million square meters using funds of enterprises and organizations. Compared with the corresponding period last year, the commissioning of housing increased 5 percent. In the country as a whole the plan for the 1st quarter was overfulfilled. The targets were met in all the union republics except the Moldavian SSR.

General educational schools with 50,200 pupil places, vocational and technical educational institutions with 4,100 pupil places, and preschool establishments with 30,100 places were commissioned. Hospitals with 5,700 beds, outpatient and general medical clinics to handle 11,700 patients per shift, and clubs and houses of culture with 11,500 places were constructed. Compared with the corresponding period last year, 39 percent more general educational schools, 72 percent more vocational and technical schools, 37 percent more preschool establishments, 110 percent more hospitals, and 11 percent more medical centers were commissioned. The 1st quarter plan for commissioning such projects was fulfilled.

The plans for commissioning schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, and medical centers were not fulfilled in the Tajik SSR, nor the plans for clubs and houses of culture in the Armenian SSR, the Estonian SSR, and the Moldavian SSR.

In work on **environmental protection** special attention was devoted to regions with the most strained ecological situation. A specially created government commission is preparing measures for the rational utilization and protection of water resources in the Aral Sea basin.

At the same time, there was laggardness in constructing nature conservation projects, including at such major industrial enterprises as the Astrakhan Gas Complex. There were instances of violations of nature conservation legislation. In particular, accidental pollution of water sources and volley discharges of waste water occurred in Alma-Ata, Vologda, Kamchatka Oblast, and other regions. Monitoring organs suspended the operation of individual production facilities and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, and other ministries failing to fulfill the prescribed requirements relating to nature conservation.

With a view to improving work on preserving and augmenting natural resources and on improving the state of the environment the main directions have been outlined for radically restructuring the business of nature conservation in the country.

Working people of the Soviet Union, having developed socialist competition for a fitting greeting for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, are stepping up efforts to consolidate the positive progress made in the 1st quarter in developing the economy and to successfully fulfill the current year's plans.

The USSR State Committee for Statistics